

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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I.

A CILICIAN FIND.

(See Plates I.-IV.)

THE great value of "finds" in solving problems both of numismatics and of history, in determining doubtful mints and dates, and in placing before our eyes the actual currency of a given time and place, is to-day too much of an established fact to need further comment. While in England and on the Continent comparatively few of such hoards are allowed to escape the interests of science, in Eastern lands—I am speaking particularly of those under Turkish rule—this fortunate state of affairs does not exist. Here only a rare chance ever preserves a find intact. If the hoard is not immediately divided between the actual finders it almost invariably falls into the hands of dealers, and is soon hopelessly dispersed in every direction. We are thus deprived, once for all, of any important data which a careful study might have given us.

The following little find has fortunately escaped the usual fate—thanks to the late Prof. Haynes, onetime superintendent of the excavations carried on by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. Though not a numismatist himself, Prof. Haynes evidently recognized the value of this branch of archaeology, and appreciated the importance of securing a find and keeping it

together for future reference and study. Of the antecedents of this little hoard nothing is known beyond the fact that it came to light among the personal effects of the late professor, and was thence brought to the present writer's notice. As all Prof. Haynes' notes and records had previously been lost or destroyed, we are deprived of any specific information they may have contained concerning the "provenance" and subsequent history of the hoard. For these and for all further information we shall have to rely upon the hoard itself.

In the following catalogue the coins are arranged geographically, starting with Syracuse in the west, thence proceeding eastwards to Athens and Byzantion, thence to the various cities of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Phoenicia, finally ending with the sigloi of the Persian kings. In every case where there is any decided difference of opinion, among the latest authorities, as to the dates to which certain coins are to be assigned, all the variations are given. The works which constitute at the present time the last word on the pre-Alexandrine issues of Asia Minor are E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*; Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edition; and the catalogues of Greek coins in the British Museum, especially G. F. Hill, *Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*; *Phoenicia*; and *Cyprus*. These, at any rate, will be the authorities followed in the present case.

As a general rule the weight of a coin is of comparatively little value for scientific purposes unless the actual condition of the coin is known as well. Therefore, in our catalogue, the following scale of "conditions" has been used: F.D.C. = "Fleur de coin," or uncirculated; Fine = very slightly worn; V.G. =

very good ; Good = medium condition ; Worn = smooth through long circulation.

SYRACUSE.

Circ. 425 B.C.

Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of nymph to l., wearing ear-ring and plain necklace ; hair rolled ; around, four dolphins ; beneath neck, ΕΥ.

Rev.—Quadriga to l. ; horses galloping in step ; charioteer crowned by flying Nike ; in exergue, dolphin to right pursuing fish. (Attic tetradrachm.)

1. *Obv.*—Three test-cuts. *Rev.*—One cut. V.G. 17·35.
[Pl. I. 1.]

The occurrence in a Cilician hoard of an example from the Syracusan mint, dating from the best period of its numismatic art, is particularly interesting. For in it we have the actual proof that during the fourth century B.C. Syracusan coins made their way by trade as far east as Cilicia. Hitherto we have only inferred this from the apparent fondness Cilician die-engravers seem to have had of imitating the types, if not always the artistic merit, of some of the finest coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia.¹

ATHENS.

Before 407 B.C.

Obv.—Head of Athene of archaic style, her helmet adorned in front with three olive leaves, and at the back with floral scroll ; her hair in bands across her temples, and indicated by dots under neck-piece of helmet.

¹ Pharnabazos and Datames on their coins copied the facing head of Arethusa by Kimon ; Tarsos the Herakles and lion group of certain Syracusan gold pieces ; Mallos a similar group on coins of Heraklea in Lucania ; &c.

Rev.—A ⊙ E. Incuse square; within which owl r., head facing, wings closed; behind, olive spray and small crescent. (Attic tetradrachm.)

2-6.	(Only one of these was weighed)	}	V.G. and F.D.C.	17·10.
7.	<i>Obv.</i> —One cut.	<i>Rev.</i> —One cut	Worn.	16·99.
8.	<i>Obv.</i> — „	<i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts	„	16·99.
9-11.	<i>Obv.</i> —One cut.	<i>Rev.</i> —Four cuts	V.G.	17·10
		<i>Rev.</i> — „ „	Worn.	16·72.
		<i>Rev.</i> — „ „	}	14·60.
		(Piece missing)		
12.	<i>Obv.</i> —Two cuts.	<i>Rev.</i> —No cuts	„	16·86.
13.	<i>Obv.</i> —No cuts.	<i>Rev.</i> —One cut	V.G.	17·07.
14-21.	<i>Obv.</i> —No cuts.	<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts	Worn.	16·88.
	„	„	„	17·10.
	„	„	„	17·12.
	„	„	V.G.	16·83.
	„	„	„	16·88.
	„	„	„	17·07.
	„	„	„	17·18.
	„	„	F.D.C.	17·15.
			[Pl. I. 2.]	
22-24.	<i>Obv.</i> —No cuts.	<i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts	Worn.	16·99.
	„	„	„	17·05.
	„	„	V.G.	17·09.
25-26.	<i>Obv.</i> — „	<i>Rev.</i> —Four cuts	Worn.	17·07.
			„	17·08.
27.	<i>Obv.</i> —No cuts.	<i>Rev.</i> —Four cuts	V.G.	17·00.
28.	<i>Obv.</i> — „	<i>Rev.</i> —Seven „	„	16·65.
29.	Fragment			3·23.
30.	<i>Obv.</i> —No cuts.	Γ. <i>Rev.</i> —Five cuts.	V.G.	16·66.
			[Pl. I. 3.]	
31.	<i>Obv.</i> — „	W. <i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts	Worn.	17·05.
			[Pl. I. 4.]	
32.		<i>Rev.</i> —Five cuts.}	V.G.	17·07.
	(Punchmark partly obliterated)	}		
33.	<i>Obv.</i> —Punch indistinct	.	}	17·06.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Punch indistinct	.		

34. *Obv.*—No cuts. } Worn. 17·08.
 Rev.—Three cuts. Punch, Fig. 1. 1 } [Pl. I. 5.]
35. *Obv.*—Circular depression } V.G. 26·93.
 Rev.—Two cuts } [Pl. I. 6.]

EASTERN (?) IMITATIONS.

36. *Obv.*—Cut. *Rev.*—Two cuts Worn. 17·08.
37. *Obv.*—Stab. Same die, as above } " 17·10.
 Rev.—Two cuts } [Pl. I. 7.]
38. *Obv.*—Punch, Fig. 1. 2 } " 17·00.
 Rev.—Two cuts, punch, Fig. 1. 3 } [Pl. I. 8.]

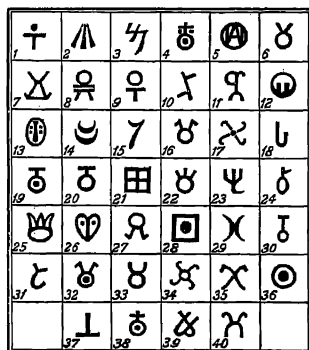


FIG. 1.

After 397 B.C. (Athenian Mint).

Same types as the preceding but of later style.

39. *Obv.*—Cut and punchmark, Fig. 1. 4 . . . F.D.C. 16·12.
 [Pl. I. 9.]

It is but natural that we should find these far-travelling Athenian "owls" in a fourth-century hoard from the coasts of Asia Minor. For nearly two centuries, until displaced by Alexander's tetradrachms, they formed the principal medium of exchange between East and West.

Of the regular Athenian issues of these famous "owls" the hoard contains many distinct varieties, ranging from the fine archaic to late transitional style. The most interesting, though, are Nos. 36-38, which are foreign imitations. Taken as a whole, the style of these imitations is not bad, just enough "off" to reveal their true character. In weight they compare very favourably with the genuine Athenian issues, and so, evidently, were not intended for fraudulent purposes, but simply to supply the trade demand for this variety of coin when, towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, and for some time afterwards, the mint at Athens seems to have ceased coining tetradrachms in any large quantities.

The majority of our pieces have seen considerable circulation, and nearly all have been badly defaced by repeated blows of a chisel. Special interest in these coins lies in the punchmarks some of them bear. No. 30 seems to have a form of the Cypriote sign for "Ko"; No. 31 what may either be the Phoenician "𐤏"² or the Cypriote "U." No. 38 bears on its obverse a sign that may either be taken for the Cypriote "Ti" or the Lycian "Kh"; while on its reverse it has the Phoenician "𐤃." These counter-stamps have the appearance of private marks rather than of official stamps, and were probably used by the merchants and bankers of Cyprus and the opposite coasts, in much the same way as the Chinese used their "chopmarks" which

² It is possible that the punches on Nos. 30 and 31 may represent respectively the Greek letters Π and Σ. On the strength of the indubitably non-Greek letters found on No. 38, and from the fact that the style and technique of Π and W are identical with that of ↑ it would seem preferable to look upon the two former also as non-Greek letters.

occur so frequently on the silver dollars of various nationalities circulating in the Far East. The two forms of the "crux ansata," on Nos. 34 and 39, also remind us of the coinages of Cilicia and Cyprus on which this symbol so often appears.

BYZANTION.

416-357 B.C. (*Head*).

Obv.—ΠΥ. Bull standing to l. on dolphin.

Rev.—Incuse square, quartered, of "mill-sail" pattern.
(Persic drachm.)

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---|--------------|-------|
| 40. <i>Obv.</i> —No cuts. | <i>Rev.</i> —No cuts | . | . | F.D.C. | 5·34. |
| | | | | [Pl. I. 10.] | |
| 41. <i>Obv.</i> — „ | <i>Rev.</i> — „ | . | . | V.G. | 5·40. |
| 42. <i>Obv.</i> —One cut. | <i>Rev.</i> — „ | . | . | „ | 5·37. |
| 43. <i>Obv.</i> — „ | Two stabs. | <i>Rev.</i> —No cuts. | „ | | 5·35. |
| 44. <i>Obv.</i> —No cuts. | <i>Rev.</i> —One cut | . | . | „ | 5·37. |

KALCHEDON.

412-394 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—KAAX. Bull standing to l. on ear of wheat.

Rev.—Incuse square, quartered, of "mill-sail" pattern.
(Persic drachm.)

45. *Obv.*—No cuts. *Rev.*—One cut. V.G. 5·37. [Pl. I. 11.]

It is interesting that the coinages of Byzantion and Kalchedon, two politically and numismatically allied cities, should both be represented in our find. As M. Babelon has shown that this particular variety of the Kalchedonian coinage—without magistrate's symbol, monogram, or letter—should be attributed to the period 412-394 B.C., it follows that the corresponding and contemporary coinage of Byzantion must also be limited to this period. In other words, our Byzantine

coins were not struck much, if any, later than about 394 B.C.

SINOPE.

453-375 B.C. (*Head*).

Circa 400 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Head of the nymph Sinope to l., hair in sphendone.

Rev.—ΣΙΝΩ. Sea-eagle to l. on dolphin. (Persic drachm.)

46. *Obv.*—(Early style). One cut . . . } Worn. 6·05.
Rev.—Ε. One cut . . . }

47. *Obv.*—ΝΙ Two cuts . . . } F.D.C. 5·96.
Rev.—ΩΗ (?) cuts . . . }

48. *Obv.*—(Poor style) . . . } „ 4·87.
Rev.—WΙ— . . . } [Pl. I. 12.]

No. 48, to judge from its poor style and abnormal weight, is probably a contemporary forgery. Nevertheless there are no signs of its being a plated coin.

These types were inaugurated on the introduction of a democratic government in Sinope (453 B.C.), and lasted until the capture of the city by Datames in 375 B.C. These particular varieties, according to M. Babelon, belong to the first part of the fourth century B.C.

MILETOS.

Before 387 B.C.

Obv.—Forepart of lion to r., looking back.

Rev.—Floral star in incuse square. (Milesian diobol.)

49. Earlier style. See Babelon, *Traité*, &c., } Worn 1·05.
 Pl. cxliv. 2 . . . }

50. Similar. Pierced and with cut on *rev.* . . . „ 1·11.

51. Later style. See Babelon, *ibid.*, Pl. cxliv. } „ 1·05.
 3-4 . . . }

52. Similar. Pierced . . . „ 1·00.

The coins of this type were probably discontinued about 387 B.C., when Hekatomnos, the Carian dynast, struck Attic drachms of the same types, but with his abbreviated name over the lion's head.

SAMOS.

390-365 B.C.

Obv.—Lion's scalp, facing.

Rev.—Forepart of bull to r.; behind, olive branch; below, Σ A and monogram, Fig. 1. 5; above, magistrate's name, ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ. (Rhodian tetradrachm.)

53. *Rev.*—Five cuts. F.D.C. 15.31.
[Pl. I. 13.]

The fine style and pronounced incuse square of the reverse point unmistakably to the first decade of the period.

ASPENDOS.

After 400 B.C. (Head).

After 394 B.C. (Babelon).

Obv.—Two wrestlers of vigorous build; the one on the l. seizing his opponent by l. leg to throw him. Early style.

Rev.—ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΥΣ. Slinger to r. in incuse square. Triskelis in front. (Persic stater.)

54. *Obv.*—One cut. *Rev.*—One cut. F.D.C. 10.92.
[Pl. II. 1.]

Obv.—Similar type; but the two wrestlers are seizing each other by the arms. Fine style.

Rev.—Slinger as above. (Persic stater.)

55. *Obv.*—Crack. *Rev.*—Four cuts. Punch- } Worn. 10.86.
mark. }

56. *Obv.*—Weakly struck. *Rev.*—One cut. } V.G. 10.91.
Punchmark: Lion's head—twice } [Pl. II. 2
repeated } (Rev.).]

57. *Obv.*—Weakly struck. *Rev.*—One cut. F.D.C. 10.93.
[Pl. II. 3 (Rev.).]

The early (No. 54) and the fine (Nos. 55-57) style displayed by these coins, and the absence of all magistrate's symbols or letters, would place them in the early days of this particular coinage—that is, *circa* 394-380 B.C.

SIDE.

400-300 B.C. (*Head*).

394-350 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Athene, helmeted, standing to l.; r. hand holds owl, l. rests on shield; behind, spear; in front, pomegranate.

Rev.—Aramaic inscription. Apollo standing to l., holds laurel branch in r. hand and bow in l. In front, altar; behind, raven. Square countermark, in which can be seen wolf running to right; above and below, indistinct letters. (Persic stater.)

58. *Obv.*—One cut. *Rev.*—Four cuts . V.G. 10-59.
[Pl. II. 4.]

This, too, must have been struck not long after 394 B.C., as the style clearly indicates.

TLOS.

400-364 B.C. (*Head*).

After 362 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Head of Athene to r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev.—WE — and sign, Fig. 1. 7. Two lions facing each other; between, sign Fig. 1. 6. (Lycian stater.)

59. *Obv.*—Weakly struck. One cut . . . } F.D.C. 8-31.
Rev.—Two cuts. Broken die . . . } [Pl. II. 5.]

M. Babelon supposes this coin to have been struck at Tlos under the domination of the satraps of Caria—that is, after 362 B.C.; Dr. Head, on the other hand, allows it a wider margin of time, in attributing it to the

period 400-364 B.C. As we shall see later, the occurrence of the piece in the present hoard places its date of issue in the first twenty years of the fourth century B.C. The rather pronounced incuse form of the reverse die confirms this. Furthermore, the style of the head and the circular shape of the incuse reverse die are very similar to the coins of certain Lycian dynasts who flourished about 400 B.C.³ The slightly later style of the coin of Tlos would place its issue between 390 and 380 B.C.

As with the other known specimens of this coin, the obverse die is very weakly struck, but enough remains to show that the type is certainly a head of Athene in Attic helmet—as Dr. Head hesitatingly suggests. M. Babelon sees in it a lion's scalp (*mufle de lion de face*), but adds “*mal venue à la frappe*” in the description of the Lycian coinage in his *Traité*.

The Lycian inscription on our coin seems slightly different from that found on the other known staters of this type—it seems to be the inscription of the obol published by M. Babelon (*Traité, &c.*, 2^{me} Partie, No. 448).

KELENDERIS.

Circa 450 B.C.

Obv.—Naked youth seated sideways on horse galloping to l.

Rev.—Forepart of goat preparing to kneel to l.

(Persic stater.)

60. <i>Obv.</i> —Two cuts and two punchmarks;	} Worn. 10·67. [Pl. II. 6.]
the upper one represents an	
ibis, the lower one the Egyptian	
sign “NEFER.”	
<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts	

³ Babelon, *Traité, &c.*, Vol. II., Pl. C, Nos. 18-20; Cl, Nos. 13-20, &c.

400-350 B.C.

Obv.—Naked youth seated sideways on horse galloping to r.

Rev.—KEAEN Goat preparing to kneel to r., head reverted.
(Persic stater.)

61. *Obv.*—Somewhat weakly struck . . . } F.D.C. 10-79.
Rev.—Two cuts } [Pl. II. 7.]

No. 60 appears to be an unpublished variety of the Kelenderite coinage. In style it is a contemporary of *B.M.C.: Cilicia*, Pl. ix. 1, and forms the transition between the earlier types (Pl. viii. 13-15) with the incuse reverse, and the later types (Pl. ix. 1-6) with the kneeling goat looking back. This representation of a goat's forepart is an entirely new motive among Kelenderite numismatic types. The coin is also noteworthy for the two remarkable countermarks on its obverse. The Egyptian sign "nefer," meaning "good," together with the ibis, would seem to indicate that this particular coin had circulated in Egypt, or, at least, had passed through the hands of Egyptian merchants or bankers.

No. 61, with its fine style and total absence of magistrate's symbols or letters, must be assigned to the first decade of the fourth century.

SOLI.

Before 386 B.C. (Hill).

400-350 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Head of Athene r., in griffin-ornamented Attic helmet. Fine style.

Rev.—Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril; and A-B, in diamond shape incuse; around, ΣΘ ΛΕ ΩΝ.
(Persic stater.)

62. *Rev.*—Four cuts. F.D.C. 10-62.

Obv.—Similar head of Athene of fine style.

Rev.—ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ Bunch of grapes with tendril in incuse of circular shape; above grapes, A1. Fine style and high relief. (Persic stater.)

63. *Obv.*—Crack. *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . F.D.C. 10·65.
[Pl. II. 8.]

Obv.—Similar head of Athene, low relief, weaker style.

Rev.—Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril placed diagonally in incuse square. Low relief.
(Persic stater.)

64. No cuts. F.D.C. 10·15.
[Pl. II. 9.]

65. *Rev.*—Σ — Ο. Three cuts. F.D.C. 10·22.
[Pl. II. 10.]

Obv.—Similar head and similar style.

Rev.—Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril in circle of pearls, ΣΟΛΙ below.

66. *Rev.*—Three cuts. F.D.C. 10·33.
[Pl. II. 11.]

67. *Rev.*—One cut. F.D.C. 10·15.
[Pl. II. 12.]

68. *Rev.*—Three cuts. F.D.C. 10·10.

No. 63 appears to be an unpublished variety of this type. Mr. Hill places the lower limit of this series of Solian autonomous coins at 386 B.C. When we come to study the hoard, with a view to determining its date of burial, we shall see that Mr. Hill is undoubtedly right in fixing on this date rather than continuing the series down to 350 B.C. as M. Babelon does.

MALLOS.

425–385 B.C. (*Hill*).

After 387 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Winged figure running (in kneeling posture) to r.; holding in both hands circular disk, on which star of eight rays.

Rev.—M A P. Swan to l.; in front, dolphin; behind, "crux ansata." (Persic stater.)

69. *Obv.*—Cracks. *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . V.G. 10·20.
[Pl. II. 13.]

Obv.—Similar figure to r.; in front, "crux ansata."

Rev.—M A P. Swan to r.; in front, altar and ear of corn. (Persic stater.)

70. *Obv.*—Cut. *Rev.*—Six cuts . . . Worn. 10·60.

ISSOS (?).

Sixth Century B.C.

Obv.—Forepart of lion to l., jaws open.

Rev.—Incuse square divided by diagonal bar into two triangles. (Persic stater.)

71. . . . V.G. 10·94.
[Pl. II. 14.]

The attribution of this coin to Issos is still conjectural, but is supported by the presence of the piece in this particular hoard.

ISSOS.

Before 386 B.C. (Babelon).

Obv.—Above, on l., ΑΠΑΤΟΡΙΟΥ (sic!) in small letters; in field, ΙΣΣΙ - ΚΟΝ. Apollo, naked to waist but for himation over l. shoulder, standing facing, head to l.; r. arm outstretched holding patera; l. rests on laurel branch.

Rev.—Herakles, naked, standing facing, head turned to r.; r. hand rests on club; l. holds lion's skin, bow, and arrow. To l., above shoulder, wreath; to right, sign, Fig. 1. 8. (Persic stater.)

72. *Obv.*—One cut. *Rev.*—One cut . . . F.D.C. 10·59.
[Pl. III. 1.]

On this fine stater we are at last able to read, in minute but perfectly legible letters, the name ΑΠΑΤΟΡΙΟΥ

above Apollo's right shoulder. M. Babelon has already noticed the legend; but owing to the condition of the piece he publishes,⁴ he describes it as Aramaic—in his own words, “Les vestiges d'une légende Araméenne (peut-être le nom de Tiribazos).” As both coins seem to be from the same obverse die, ΑΠΑΤΟΡΙΟΥ must also be the inscription found on the Copenhagen specimen.

What is Ἀπατορίου to be considered as—a magistrate's name, a divine epithet, or perhaps an artist's signature? All three solutions have their difficulties, as we shall see. To begin with, the form Ἀπατόριος is new. As Ἀπατούριος it has been preserved for us by various authors and inscriptions as a personal name in Athens, Delos, Byzantium, Alabanda, &c.⁵ It also appears as a magistrate's name on certain coins of Smyrna and Kyme.⁶ Ἀπατορίου may be merely an orthographical error of the die-sinker or a dialectical variation of the usual Ἀπατουρίου, or simply due to the confusion prevalent about this period in the writing of the pure and impure vowel-sounds. The simplest explanation of this name would be to consider it as that of some magistrate in charge of this coinage. With rare exceptions⁷ Cilician magistrates did not sign their names in full on their coins till well after the middle of the second century B.C., and in the few cases where they did, never in the genitive case. Our coin is of a period when seldom anything more than a symbol or, at most, one

⁴ Now in Copenhagen. See Babelon, *Traité, &c.*, 2^{me} Partie, Vol. II. No. 1373.

⁵ W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, 1863/70.

⁶ Mionnet, iii. 192; S. vi. 11.

⁷ Babelon, *Traité, &c.*, 2^{me} Partie, Soli; Nos. 1437, 1443, both after 350 B.C.

or two letters are found. Outside of Cilicia, at Ephesos, at Samos, at Chios, at Knidos, at Klazomenae, and other cities of Asia Minor, magistrates signed in full from the commencement of the fourth century B.C., but always in the *nominative* case.

Can we explain it as an artist's signature? It is in a conspicuous place, and the custom of signing dies was not prevalent in Cilicia. On the other hand, the extreme minuteness of the letters, the accompanying fine style of the coin itself, and lastly, the genitive case, might all argue in favour of this last hypothesis. The great Syracusan artists Eumenes and Euainetos were accustomed to sign their names in the genitive case. As the Cilician die-engravers more than once turned to the masterpieces of Sicily for their inspiration, it might have happened that in one instance, in an excess of pride and emulation, the Cilician artist signed his name to his production, in imitation of his Western masters.

By far the most plausible explanation of the word Ἀπατόριος is that probably it was intended as an epithet of the god it accompanies. We know that Ἀπατουρία was an epithet of Aphrodite and Athene, Ἀπατούριος of Zeus and Dionysos.⁸ As far as I know, however, we have no instance of its having been used as an epithet of Apollo. But there is no reason to suppose that he might not have been given this name at Issos, if he were associated in that city with an Apaturia festival. Our coin would then be a most interesting (as it is the only) proof that such a festival had been held at Issos, and that the god Apollo was there associated with it.

⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Apaturios.

SATRAPAL ISSUES OF TIRIBAZOS.

386-380 B.C.

SOLI.

Obv.—ΣΟ on l.; Aramaic inscription (תריבזון) on r. Baal standing to l., r. arm extended beneath flying eagle, l. arm resting on sceptre.

Rev.—Ahura-mazda to front, head r., nude body terminated by winged disk of Persian form; in r., wreath; in l., lotos. (Persic stater.)

73. F.D.C. 10-95.
[Pl. III. 2.]

74. *Obv.*—One cut. *Rev.*—Three cuts . Fine. 10-59.

Obv.—Head of bearded Herakles r., lion's skin fastened around neck.

Rev.—Head of satrap (Tiribazos?) r., bearded and wearing Persian tiara. In front, ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (Persic stater.)

75. Fine style, high relief . . . F.D.C. 10-20.
[Pl. III. 3.]

76. Around head, ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ. Low relief. } F.D.C. 9-30.
Rev.—Cut . . . }

77. Similar. *Rev.*— „ . . . Fine. 9-80.

78. „ *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . „ 10-19.

79. „ *Obv.*—Cut . . . F.D.C. 10-19.
[Pl. III. 4.]

MALLOS.

Obv.—Head of nymph r., hair done up in sphendone; ear-ring and pearl necklace.

Rev.—Head of satrap (Tiribazos?) r., bearded and wearing Persian tiara. In front ΜΑΛ. (Persic stater.)

80. Coin nearly divided by deep cut. Fine } F.D.C. 9-99.
style . . . } [Pl. III. 5.]

81. *Rev.*—Cut. Fine style. Fine. 10-54.
[Pl. III. 6.]

82. *Obv.*—Two cuts. *Rev.*—Three cuts . V.G. 10-68.

83. *Rev.*—Two cuts . „ 10-39.
[Pl. III. 7.]

These coins are interesting, as they represent the coinage issued by Tiribazos the Satrap to defray the expenses of the expedition he was preparing in Southern Cilicia against Evagoras I, the revolted king of Cyprus.

ISLAND OF CYPRUS.

KINGS OF SALAMIS.

EVAGORAS I.

411-374 B.C.

Obv.—Cypriote inscription, ρω-γο-*Fa-v-E* (*Evagorω*). Herakles beardless, seated to r. on lion's skin stretched over rock; r. hand holds club, l. hand holds bull's horn.

Rev.—*Φο-λη-σι-βα* (*βασιληο*). Goat reclining to r. on dotted base. (Persic stater.)

84. *Rev.*—Two cuts . F.D.C. 11·02.
[Pl. III. 8.]

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles to r. covered with lion's skin.

Rev.—*Φο-λη-σι-βα* *Fa.* Goat reclining to r. on dotted base;
σε Ε V above, grain of wheat. (Persic stater.)

85. *Rev.*—Two cuts . F.D.C. 10·50.
[Pl. III. 9.]

The first of these staters is particularly interesting, as it seems to be unpublished. Tetrobols bearing the same types are well known, but this is the first time that a corresponding stater has made its appearance. It evidently was the first issue of Evagoras' reign, and was shortly superseded by the more usual coins in gold and silver, bearing on their obverses the bearded Herakles head of No. 85. Neither of the two coins catalogued here has seen any circulation whatsoever.

KINGS OF KITION.

BAALRAM.

Circa 400-392 B.C.

Obv.—Herakles, the lion's skin hanging from his shoulders, advancing to r.; in r. hand he brandishes club, in extended l. he holds bow. Before him "crux ansata" (?).

Rev.—Phoenician inscription (לבעלרם). Lion springing upon falling stag, all in dotted square. (Persic stater.)

86. *Rev.*—Three cuts. V. Fine. 11.23.
[Pl. III. 10.]

MELEKIATHON.

392-361 B.C.

Obv.—Same type as above.

Rev.—Same type as above. (Persic tetrobol.)

87. *Obv.*—Weakly struck. *Rev.*—Two cuts. Fine. 3.53.
[Pl. III. 11.]

PHOENICIA.

ARADOS.

Early Fourth Century (Hill).

Obv.—Head r. of male deity, laureate; eye in full, border represented by line instead of by dots.

Rev.—Phoenician inscription (א ב). Galley r.; below, three wavy lines; the whole in incuse square bounded below by crescent-shaped depression (Hill, *Phoenicia*, Series B). (Persic stater.)

88. *Rev.*—Cut . . . Fine. 10.38.
[Pl. IV. 1.]

Early Fourth Century to c. 350 B.C. (Hill).

Obv.—Similar head to previous stater.

Rev.—א ב Galley to r., as above. Style later; probably same issue as the following, but in this case the numerals are off the flan. (Persic stater.)

89. *Obv.*—Two cuts. Slightly worn. 10.38.

Obv.—Similar head to previous staters.

Rev.— Σ ρ . Galley as above (Hill, *ibid.*, Series D).
(Persic stater.)

90. *Rev.*—Punchmark, Fig. 1. 9. Fine. 10·78.
[Pl. IV. 2.]

In these three staters our hoard corroborates Mr. Hill's conclusions that their issue must have been slightly earlier than 350–332 B.C., the period to which M. Babelon would assign them.

TYRE.

420–400 B.C. (*Babelon*).

Obv.—Melqarth riding r. on hippocamp with curled wing ; with r. he holds reins, with l. strung bow ; below, two lines of waves and dolphin r.

Rev.— ρ . Owl standing r., head facing ; over l. shoulder crook and flail. (Phoenician stater.)

91. *Obv.*—Cut. *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . Good. 13·21.
[Pl. IV. 3.]

Circa 400–312 B.C. (*Hill*).

Obv.—Melqarth as before.

Rev.—Owl as before. Flat fabric. (Phoenician stater.)

92. *Obv.*—Crack. *Rev.*—Cut . . . Fine. 13·56.
[Pl. IV. 4.]

The dies of both the foregoing coins are placed at right angles to each other. M. Babelon's dating for No. 91 seems to me more in accordance with the evidences of our find than Mr. Hill's. For No. 92 Mr. Hill leaves a possible margin of 68 years, but the occurrence of a specimen of this type in our hoard places its issue in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., for, as I hope to show later, the hoard was buried about 380 B.C.

SATRAPAL (?) ISSUE IN PHOENICIA.

UNCERTAIN MINT.

Obv.—Bearded and wreathed male head to r., eye seen from the front. No border.

Rev.—Ahura-Mazda to r.; wears turreted crown and mantle which falls below waist; body terminates in sun disk from which four wings extend. No border. (Phoenician stater.)

93. *Obv.*—One cut Fine. 12·12.
[Pl. IV. 5.]

This seemingly hitherto unpublished stater is somewhat of an enigma. In fabric it reminds us, perhaps, most strongly of the staters of Arados, being lumpy with rounded edges. Also the hair of the head is represented by dots as at Arados, but the beard by straight lines. Whose may this head be, with its highly individualized features; is it god or satrap? The former is certainly the most likely, as it lacks the satrapal bonnet. Like the Melqarth of the Aradian staters it is wreathed, it is dignified in bearing and in its flowing beard—for the time being we may therefore consider it as a representation of that god. The reverse type is certainly Persian, and immediately reminds us of the Ahura-Mazda figures on certain coins struck by Tiribazos in Issos, Mallos, and Tarsos. The style and workmanship, however, are decidedly not Cilician, but purely Eastern and savouring strongly of Phoenicia. The weight, too, may be taken as that of a light Phoenician stater (the heavy gash may account for this lightness). Where and by whom was it struck? Unfortunately, no legend helps us to answer this question. As the Phoenician weight standard seems never to have been used in Cilicia or on the Island of Cyprus, Phoenicia

alone remains. Arados is suggested by the style and fabric, but, on the other hand, the Phoenician standard is not found in the coinage of this city.

By its types our coin is satrapal in character. I would see in it, therefore, the sole survivor of an issue struck in some city of the Phoenician coast by some satrap (or Persian king) preparing an expedition either against Cyprus or against Egypt. The actual date of issue is placed by the style of the coin itself about the commencement of the fourth century B.C. Perhaps we might refer it to Sidon (where also the Phoenician standard of weight was employed) at the time—396 B.C.—when by special order of the Great King the vassal king of this city fitted out an expedition of eighty warships to assist Conon against the Spartans.⁹ With even greater probability we might refer the coin to the years 389–387 B.C., when Artaxerxes made his great attempt to recover Egypt for the Persian Empire. Phoenicia was undoubtedly used by him as his base of operations. Here were collected the supplies of men and food for the army in the field, and here, as so often happened in Cilicia under similar circumstances, a special coinage might well have been issued by the Great King or his generals for the payment of the troops.

SIGLOI OF THE PERSIAN KINGS.

SERIES I.—ATTRIBUTED TO XERXES, 486–465 B.C.

Obv.—King of Persia bearded, crowned, kneeling r. on one knee; at his back, quiver; in r. long spear, and in his outstretched l. a bow.

⁹ G. F. Hill, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, xciv, § 38, and note 3.

Rev. Irregular oblong incuse. (Persian siglos.)

94. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Stab ; three punch- } Worn. 5·50.
marks, Fig. 1. 10–12 } [Pl. IV. 6.]

95. *Rev.*—Five cuts ; punchmark } Worn. 5·45.
obliterated }

96. *Rev.*—Stab „ 5·51.

97. On edge, Fig. 1. 16, three times repeated. }
Rev.—Punchmark, Fig. 1. 13–15 } „ 5·52.

SERIES II.—ATTRIBUTED TO ARTAXERXES I, 465–425 B.C.

98. *Obv.*—Cut. *Rev.*—Cut Worn. 5·50.

99. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Three cuts ; punch- }
mark, Fig. 1. 17 } „ 5·46.

100. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Punchmark, Fig. 1. }
19 } „ 5·49.

101. *Obv.*—Cut. *Rev.*—Two cuts „ 5·54.

102. *Rev.*—Indistinct punch- }
mark } „ 5·50.
[Pl. IV. 7.]

SERIES III.—ATTRIBUTED TO ARTAXERXES II, 405–359 B.C.

103. Good. 5·53.
[Pl. IV. 8.]

104. *Rev.*—Crescent-shaped punch . Worn. 5·50.

105. *Obv.*—o, ☾. *Rev.*—Cut ; punchmark, }
Fig. 1. 20 } „ 5·46.

106. *Obv.* ☾. *Rev.* Two cuts. „ 5·55.

107. *Obv.*—Punch : ☾. *Rev.*—Two cuts . „ 5·46.

108. *Rev.*—Three cuts ; punch, o Worn. 5·41.


109. „ 5·49.

110. *Rev.*—Two cuts Fine. 5·44.
[Pl. IV. 9.]

SERIES IV.—UNATTRIBUTABLE BECAUSE OF POOR
WORKMANSHIP.

111.	<i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 21, twice repeated . . . }	<i>Rev.</i> —Fig. 1. 22 . . . }	Worn. 4·91.
112.	<i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 38, and stab . . . }	<i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts and Fig. 1. 23, 24, 25, and) . . . }	5·46. [Pl IV. 10 (<i>Rev.</i>).]
113.		<i>Rev.</i> —Stab . . . }	Worn. 5·50. [Pl IV. 11.]
114.	<i>Obv.</i> —Crescent punch . . . }	<i>Rev.</i> —Obliterated punchmark . . . }	Worn. 5·40.
115.	<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts and Fig. 1. 26 . . .		5·42.
116.	<i>Rev.</i> —Three crescent punchmarks . . .		5·05.
117.	<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts		5·40.
118.	<i>Rev.</i> —Six cuts and Fig. 1. 27 . . .		5·44.
119.	Pierced. <i>Obv.</i> —Circular punch . . . }	<i>Rev.</i> —Cut }	5·45.
120.	<i>Obv.</i> Crescent punch and Fig. 1. 28 . . . }	<i>Rev.</i> —Fig. 1. 29, twice repeated . . . }	5·45.
121.	<i>Obv.</i> —Stab. <i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts . . .		5·51.

SERIES V.—UNATTRIBUTABLE BECAUSE OF WEAR.

122.	<i>Rev.</i> —Nine cuts	Worn.	5·48.
123.	<i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 30. <i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts	„	5·54.
124.	<i>Obv.</i> —Stab. <i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts	„	5·51.
125.	<i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 31 }	„	5·47.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts and obliterated punch }		
126	<i>Rev.</i> —Four cuts and Fig. 1. 19	„	5·40.
127.	<i>Obv.</i> —Several indistinct punchmarks . }	„	5·42.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Six cuts }		
128.	<i>Obv.</i> —Stab and Fig. 1. 32, and  . }	„	5·39.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Five cuts; obliterated punches . }		
129.	<i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 19, 28 }	„	5·55.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Two cuts and Fig. 1. 33 . . . }		
130.	<i>Obv.</i> —Stab. <i>Rev.</i> —Three cuts . . .	„	5·34.
131.	Fragment. <i>Obv.</i> —Fig. 1. 4 }	„	2·80.
	<i>Rev.</i> —Fig. 1. 34 }		

SERIES VI.—ATTRIBUTED TO ARTAXERXES III, ARSES,
OR DARIUS.

Obv.—The king of Persia bearded, kneeling r. on one knee ;
in outstretched l. he holds bow, in r., drawn back,
a dagger.

Rev.—Irregular oblong incuse. (Persian siglos.)

132. *Obv.*—Three cuts, and Fig. 1. 35, 32, 36. Worn. 5·67.

133. *Rev.*—Two cuts and two). „ 5·61.

134. *Rev.*—Six cuts . . . „ 5·60.

135. *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . „ 5·52.

[Pl. IV. 12.]

136. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Stab, and Fig. 1. } Worn. 5·43.
37 and 4 . . . }

137. *Obv.*—Fig. 1. 38. *Rev.*—Cut, and Fig. } „ 5·37.
1. 4, 39, and goat recumbent l. } [Pl. IV. 13.]

138. *Obv.*—Fig. 1. 40. *Rev.*—Three cuts . Worn. 5·49.

139. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Cut . . . „ 5·49.

140. *Rev.*—Two cuts . . . „ 5·27.

141. *Obv.*—Stab. *Rev.*—Stab and Fig. 1. 38 „ 5·54.

The attribution (as proposed by M. Babelon) to individual rulers of the darics and sigloi of the Achæmenid sovereigns has not, as yet, been definitely accepted. It is only the close observation and study of finds of these coins that will prove the theory one way or the other. I have, therefore, taken particular pains to arrange the forty-eight sigloi of our hoard on the lines laid out by M. Babelon in his *Traité*, vol. i. pp. 257-264 ; vol. ii. pp. 37-72. On the whole, this has been of considerable difficulty as these sigloi have not only suffered severely by long circulation but, in addition, have been badly disfigured by stabs, punch-marks, and chisel cuts. They fall into the following

six groups: I., II., and III. attributed by M. Babelon to Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.), and Artaxerxes II (405-359 B.C.) respectively; IV. contains those—designated by M. Babelon as “types banaux”—which are impossible to assign to individual kings on account of inferior workmanship; V. contains those which the vicissitudes of circulation have made indecipherable; VI. those on which the king is represented holding a dagger or short sword in his right hand. Groups IV. and V. may be left out of consideration. Groups I. to III. support M. Babelon's theory in so far as they have been assigned to sovereigns who reigned before the probable burial of our hoard, and because the coins of group III. (Artaxerxes II) are, on the whole, less worn by circulation than I. (Xerxes) and II. (Artaxerxes I). But with group VI. we meet a serious difficulty. This type, particularized by the dagger in the king's hand, M. Babelon has distributed among the three kings, Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.), Arses (338-337 B.C.), and Darius III (337-330 B.C.), according as the features of the king vary on the coins. With our coins long circulation and poor striking combine to preclude the possibility of distinguishing these variations, and so they have been collected in a single group. This also makes it more convenient in discussing the group as a whole. Now we have seen that the very latest coins of our hoard, that can be dated with any degree of certainty, are those struck by Tiribazos, *circa* 386-384 and 381 B.C. Besides, there are six or more groups of autonomous coins which cover the period 400-350 B.C., but in every case I have endeavoured to show that the coins in this find are of comparatively early style, and so could not have been struck after 380 B.C.

at the latest. This point will be taken up later. It would, therefore, controvert all the strong evidences of a burial about 380 B.C., which the remainder of our coins present, if we should accept the attributions of group VI. as suggested by M. Babelon. In dating these sigloi, as he does, between 359 and 330 B.C. we should have a series of coins struck anywhere from thirty to forty years after the latest in the find—a numismatic anomaly impossible to explain. We must also note that these sigloi are worn by circulation, about in a similar degree to those of group III., and so must antedate by some ten years the hoard's burial.

All our sigloi had evidently been in circulation for many years along the coasts of Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus—some had even been out to India and back—before their final owner saw fit to bury his little hoard. Among the punchmarks with which their surfaces are pitted we find the tetraskelis (Lycia or India), the “*crux ansata*” (Cilicia and Cyprus), Fig. 1. 33, the so-called “*taurine symbol*” (India),¹⁰ Fig. 1. 19, so often found on Sassanian bronze coins, and on one (No. 137) a goat of the type peculiar to Kelenderis. No. 94. had certainly been in India, for on it we see the Elephant punchmark so common to the flat, punchmarked puranas of Indian numismatics, we have also the letter forms Fig. 1. 11 and 10, very similar to “*gha*” and “*ṭa*” of the Kharosthi alphabet. Furthermore, we have what appear to be letters of the Brahma alphabet: Fig. 1. 32 or 16 (97), 40 (138), 24 (112), 31 (125), 37 (136). The

¹⁰ For the Indian provenance of the majority of these punchmarks see E. Rapson, “Countermarks on Early Persian and Indian Coins,” *J.R.A.S.* for October, 1895.

Fig. 1. 18 (99) may be either a Brahma or a Kharosthi character. Several other more or less obscure characters seem to be variants of these alphabets.

These punchmarks were undoubtedly private signs of various merchants and bankers; the stabs on these sigloi were also probably private safeguards against the possible presence of a copper core; the cuts, on the other hand, I would suggest, were carried out by some one in authority. It is a curious fact that whereas the punchmarks and stabs occur indiscriminately on obverse or reverse, the mutilating cuts are found *almost invariably on the reverse only*. Of the forty-seven sigloi of the hoard there are only three exceptions to this rule. In two cases the coins are so badly worn and blurred by previous punches that, in the hurry of defacing them, it might have been almost impossible to distinguish the obverse from the reverse. In the third case the cut is very slight and has the appearance of accident rather than of design. Moreover, this rule applies only to the sigloi; the remainder of our coins have the cuts indiscriminately on obverse or reverse. Is this a coincidence? Otherwise the mutilation of the coins must have been carried out under Persian authority, and it was found inexpedient as well as sacrilegious to disfigure the image of the great king. That this prejudice is real, witness the fact, in our own twentieth-century times, when, it is stated, the Russian authorities saw fit to withdraw the new stamps celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the Romanoff family because the postmarks obliterated the royal portraits which these stamps bore. The further discussion as to the significance of these chisel cuts will be taken up in the résumé.

RÉSUMÉ.

On looking over our little hoard one is immediately impressed by the wide limits it embraces; for in it are found represented the coinages of Syracuse, of Athens, and of various cities and islands along the coasts of Asia Minor and Phoenicia. A closer inspection will reveal that, after all, only three varieties predominate: Athenian "owls," Persian "archers," and the issues of certain cities and Persian satraps in Cilicia. It is these latter that give our hoard its chief characteristic. For as the Athenian tetradrachms were everywhere current along the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Persian sigloi throughout Asia Minor and Syria, it is the Cilician coins—other data being wanting—that definitely place the locality where the hoard was once deposited. For these are purely local issues, the coinages of small autonomous cities, or of Persian satraps temporarily collecting troops and stores in their vicinity for distant expeditions. From the nature of things, their circulation could never have been very extensive nor their quantity large, and so, by their predominance over the coins of other Asiatic cities in our Find, they must determine the district where their former owner buried his little treasure. Incidentally it is certain that Prof. Haynes spent three years at the Central Asia College at Aintab, Turkey-in-Asia, and that during this time he often had occasion to visit Adana and other modern Cilician towns. It is most likely that in the course of one of these trips he secured the Find in question.

In discussing the actual coins I have tried to emphasize the fact that our hoard, in its contents, seems to revolve about the year 380 B.C. Some of its coin-groups

definitely come to an end by 380 B.C.; the coins which belong to groups usually roughly assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C. are in every case of early style and so must be attributed to the first two decades of this century; in the very few cases, *e.g.* Tlos, where certain of our coins are sometimes dated later than about 380 B.C., there seems to be considerable uncertainty among numismatists, some authorities placing them before, some after, this date. The latest coins of undisputed date are those struck by the satrap Tiribazos at Mallos and at Soli between the years 386 and 380 B.C. This was the period during which the famous satrap was mobilizing the Persian forces in Cilicia against Evagoras I, King of Salamis.¹¹ In 380 B.C. Tiribazos died and Pharnabazos was appointed commander-in-chief of the great forces now being collected in Cilicia and Phoenicia against the recalcitrant King of Egypt.¹² During the course of the year 379-378 B.C. he took up his post and spent several years in recruiting the army. It is probable that very shortly after his arrival he inaugurated the abundant series of Cilician coins which bears his name.¹³ In 378 B.C. Datames was appointed as his colleague and struck coins of identical types, but signed with his name. Now, as stated above, the latest coins in our hoard are those of Tiribazos. These, together with the contemporaneous autonomous issues of Soli and Mallos, are all in very fine or mint condition. On the other hand, our hoard contained not a single specimen of either Pharnabazos' or Datames' very

¹¹ Diod. Sic., xv. 2 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, xv. 29, 41-43.

¹³ The types are: *Obv.* Head of Arethusa (?) facing. *Rev.* Bearded and helmeted head of Ares (?). Behind, name of Pharnabazos in Aramaic.

common coins. What more probable, therefore, than to suppose the hoard was buried during the troublous times between the Cypriote expedition of Tiribazos and the arrival of Pharnabazos?

Owing to the unfortunate loss of Prof. Haynes' notes it is impossible to say whether we possess the find intact or not. If our hoard was buried much after $\frac{379}{378}$ B.C. it is certain that it would have contained at least a few examples of Pharnabazos' and Datames' comparatively common coinages. Prof. Haynes was more or less innocent of any very deep knowledge of numismatics. It is very doubtful, therefore, if he would have been able to select from a find only the scarcer varieties of Cilician coins—in other words, such as we have before us. It is much more probable that he would have avoided the common and very poorly preserved Persian sigloi and Athenian tetradrachms and have taken instead the probably far better preserved staters of Pharnabazos. On the other hand, the hoard does not have the appearance of the relics of a "picked over" lot; such rarities as Nos. 1, 59, 61, 69, 71, 72, 73, 84, 85, 93, &c., would not then have fallen into Prof. Haynes' hands. The most convincing argument in favour of our supposition that we have the find intact before us, is that every variety of coin we should expect to be circulating in Cilicia at just this period, 386 to 380 B.C., is represented. There are no noticeable gaps to make one suspect that the hoard has not come down to us as it was buried. I think we are therefore justified in basing our conclusions concerning the probable date of burial on the total absence of Pharnabazos' coinage.

Of the 141 coins which compose the hoard 114 are disfigured by what is generally known as "test cuts"—

deep incisions probably made with some chisel-like instrument. For some unknown reason this practice seems to have been particularly common in Cilicia. The generally accepted explanation of these cuts is that they were tests for copper cores—the usual expedient of ancient counterfeiters in making their debased and spurious coins. In the majority of cases this is probably correct, but for our coins this explanation will hardly suffice. Instead of one cut (which would have been ample to detect the presence of a copper core) often as many as five or six, sometimes even more, disfigure the coin in a most effective fashion. The thoroughness of these mutilations seems premeditated, and suggests the explanation that, in the present case, these multiple cuts were intended to make the coins unfit for further circulation—in other words, to demonetize them once for all. Pharnabazos, on his arrival in Cilicia to take over the supreme command of the Persian forces against Cyprus, would naturally follow what was fast becoming a customary habit of Persian satraps under similar circumstances, namely, to issue a coinage bearing his own name and types for the pay of the soldiery. Bullion at this time may have been more or less scarce in the satrapal coffers, certain it was that the previous campaigns in Cyprus had been long and arduous, and, in addition, had not been crowned with startling success. As a result of this probably very little booty had been brought back to replenish the war-chests of the Persian generalissimo. To tide over the period until fresh supplies of bullion arrived from Susa (where the royal treasures of the Persians were stored), Pharnabazos may well have had recourse to the expedient of melting down the current coin to furnish immediate material for his

own issues.¹⁴ The old coinages of Tiribazos, the autonomous issues of Cilician cities, and such foreign coins as happened to have arrived in Cilicia by trade, were disfigured and then sent to the melting-pot. Our little hoard, for some unknown reason, has escaped this last fate, but the truly vicious chisel cuts are only too plain to be seen.

After all, whatever these cuts may signify, the chief interest of our hoard lies in its contents. For here we have a brief summary of such moneys as were at one time current in the Satrapy of Cilicia, among the soldiers of the Great King and his Greek subjects, in the stirring days of Tiribazos the Satrap.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. G. F. Hill who in editing this paper very kindly called my attention to certain articles and notes which have considerable bearing on the subject.

E. T. NEWELL.

¹⁴ A piece of corroborative evidence that Pharnabazos, and perhaps his successor Datames, followed this policy of melting down the old coins for their own issues, lies in the fact that, while their coins are to-day exceedingly common, those of Tiribazos are very much the reverse. This is surprising when we remember that Tiribazos was twice in Cilicia, and for six years was busily engaging in collecting troops, stores, and ships for his military expeditions. His issues ought, therefore, to have been most abundant in order to enable him to defray the enormous expenses of his military preparations.

II.

ON THE COINAGE OF COMMODUS DURING THE REIGN OF MARCUS.

(See Plate V.)

THE early coinage of Commodus presents a very difficult chronological problem. It is only when we come to his fourth consulate, which coincides with the third year of his tribunician power, that we are on really firm ground. This year is quite certainly dated 179 p.C. Previous to this there is much confusion. I propose to exhibit as accurately as I can the various changes of title which appear on the coins, and to make some attempt at a solution of the questions that arise.

The earliest appearance of Commodus on the coinage is upon a large bronze medallion ¹ [Pl. V. 1], where his head appears, with that of his brother Annius Verus, on the obverse, with the inscription COMMODVS CAES. VERVS CAES. The reverse is one which reappears in the coinage of Commodus in later years—a group of figures symbolical of the four seasons, with the inscription FELICITAS TEMPORVM. Commodus is recorded by Lampridius² to have received the title “Caesar” on October 12, 166. His brother Verus died in 170. The medallion, therefore, belongs to the period 166–170, and we may reasonably

¹ Cohen, III. p. 169 (2nd ed.), *Comm. et Annii Verus*, 1.

² *H. A.*, vii. 11, § 13.

conjecture that it was struck to commemorate the elevation of the two brothers to the rank of Caesar.

The next coin in the series is the medallion³ which has already been given among the coinage of Marcus for 173, having on the reverse a youthful bust of Commodus with the inscription *COMMODVS CAESAR GERM. ANTONINI AVG. GERM. FIL.* This medallion was probably struck to commemorate the bestowal of the title Germanicus upon the emperor and his heir. The title was actually given, according to Lampridius,⁴ on October 15, 172, but Eckhel's report⁵ of a Germanicus-coin for that year does not seem to be confirmed. In any case the title did not become habitual for some years.

The first coin issued in the sole name of Commodus is a rather small medallion [Pl. V. 2] which I describe from an example at Berlin:⁶

Æ^m. Obv.—*COMMODVS CAES. AVG. FIL.* Youthful bust
r., loricate, paludate.

Rev.—*PONTIF. Cultella, bucranium, apex, and simpulum.*

The inscription and type alike indicate that the medal was struck to celebrate Commodus' admission to the pontificate. Here again the invaluable Lampridius comes to our aid.⁷ "*Adsumptus in omnia collegia sacerdotalia sacerdos XIII. kl. Invictas Pisone Juliano coss.*" i.e. January 20, 175. One of the "*collegia sacerdotalia*" was

³ Cohen, III. p. 133, *Marc-Aurèle et Comm.*, 2: see *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 190.

⁴ *H. A.*, vii. 11, § 14.

⁵ Eckhel, vii. p. 59. The question of the title Germanicus is discussed in the previous article, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 189 sqq.

⁶ Cohen, III. *Comm.*, 599.

⁷ *H. A.*, vii. 12, § 1.

that of the *Pontifices*. This medal, therefore, can be fixed to the early part of 175 p.C.

The next fixed point in the coinage is the beginning of the first consulate of Commodus, which is definitely dated to 177 p.C. Here he is still plain "*Cæsar Augusti filius*." We may now examine the intervening coins. The obverse inscriptions give CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. and CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. Now, both these fresh titles appear on the coins of Marcus during the twenty-ninth year of his tribunician power—December 10, 174, to December 9, 175. It will be worth while to exhibit again the proportional numbers of coins of Marcus with the various titles, as represented by the Berlin collection :

TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VII. COS. III. P.P.	21	} 39
GERM. TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VII. COS. III. P.P. . .	11	
GERM. TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. .	1	
GERM. SARM. TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P.	6	

This suggests May or June for the assumption of the title GERM., and September or October for GERM. SARM. Roughly, then, we may date the coins of Commodus with GERM. June to September, 175, while for those with GERM. SARM. we have no means of dating from the titles between October, 175, and December, 176.⁸ For the former period the Berlin collection possesses only three coins, for the later twenty-five.

Turning to the reverse types, we find that the commonest among those of the former period is that of a *Congiarium*, with the inscription LIBERALITAS AVG.⁹ On corresponding coins of Marcus we have a figure of Liberality, with the inscription LIBERALITAS AVG. VI.

⁸ See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 292 *sqq.*

⁹ Cohen, *Comm.*, 291-294.

The reference is no doubt the same, and the *Congiarium* is to be identified with that at which Commodus presided *adhuc in praetexta* just before his departure for the *limes*,¹⁰ i.e. about June, 175. This corresponds with the the conjectural dating of these coins.

The other important type of this group is as follows:¹¹

A. Obv.—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. Youthful head, bare.

Rev.—PRINC. IVVENT. Figure in tunic, cloak, and boots, standing l., holding in l. hand sceptre, in r. hand bough; to r., trophy.

On the specimen I have seen in the British Museum [Pl. V. 3] the figure looks like a female, recalling the *Virtus*-type which later becomes common; and as the inscription stands for PRINCIPI (not PRINCEPS), it does not necessarily identify the figure; but on the whole it is probable that it is intended to represent the young Commodus himself, and this is apparent on other coins of this class in other metals. The bough which he holds is the laurel of victory, and the trophy behind him has the same significance. But the chief chronological interest lies in the fact that the coin is dedicated COMMODO PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Lampridius^{11a} records that Commodus was "*cooptatus inter principes juventutis, cum togam sumpsit.*" The latter event we know took place on July 7, 175,¹² so that this coin again is closely dated, within the period already conjecturally fixed on the basis of numerical proportions.

I now pass to the later, and much larger, group of coins with GERM. SARM. Here we have in the first place repetitions of the types we have already observed, and

¹⁰ *H. A.*, vii. 2, § 1.

^{11a} *H. A.*, vii. 2, § 1.

¹¹ Cohen, *l.c.* 605.

¹² *H. A.*, viii. 2, § 2; 12, § 3.

variations of them. The *Princeps Juventutis* types are very prominent : ¹³

N. Obv.—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM.
Youthful head, bare.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Altar, inscribed FORT.
REDVCI.

This appears to connect itself with the FORT. RED. coins of Marcus given by Cohen¹⁴ for the year 176. Another type with similar reference is the following : ¹⁵

Æ³. *Rev.*—EQVESTER }
 ORDO }
 PRINCIPI } in laurel wreath.
 IVVENT }
 S.C. }

Other types proper to the heir to the throne occur—*Hilaritas*¹⁶ and *Spes Publica*.¹⁷ The following also repeats an early coin of Marcus before his accession : ¹⁸

Æ². *Obv.*—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM.
Youthful bust r., paludate.

Rev.—PIETAS AVG. *Cultella, aspersorium, ewer, lituus, simpulum.*

The cult-implements have reference to the *sacerdotia* held by the prince.

These types exhaust by far the greater part of the coins of this group. There is nothing in them to indicate any special date. The following, however, connects itself with the coinage of Marcus, and with the history : ¹⁹

¹³ Cohen, *l.c.* 601–602.

¹⁴ Cohen, *Marc. Aurèle*, 210, and especially 939.

¹⁵ Cohen, *Comm.*, 104–105.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 215–217; cf. *M. A.*, 230–233.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 708–712; cf. *M. A.*, 600.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 401–406; cf. *M. A.*, 450. See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XI. Pl. I. 8.

¹⁹ Cohen, *Comm.*, 76–78.

R. Obv.—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM.
Youthful bust r., paludate.

Rev.—DE GERMANIS. Trophy ; at foot of which, to l., female figure, seated l. on shield in attitude of grief ; to r., male figure, apparently nude, seated r. on shield, with hands behind back.

This coin belongs to the issue which celebrated the conclusion of the Germano-Sarmatian Wars. Sarmatian coins of Commodus are apparently not known, but this type, and one with DE GERM. and a pile of arms, clearly belong to the series, and are to be dated to 176 p.C.

One more type of this group may be mentioned. It becomes fairly frequent in the later coinage of Commodus : ²⁰

Æ¹.—*Obv.*—L. AVREL. COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. Youthful bust r., paludate.

Rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI S.C. Jupiter, nude, standing l., holding in l. hand sceptre, in r. hand *fulmen* ; the uplifted hands cause the robe to spread widely behind ; to l. Commodus (on small scale), togate, standing l., holding in r. hand Victory, in l. hand scroll [Pl. V. 4].

The type has no parallel among the coins of Marcus for this period. Its significance is obvious.

Finally, there is an interesting type which though not identical with any type of Marcus himself for this year, falls into place in the history of the period : ²¹

N. Obv.—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM.
Youthful bust r., paludate, loricate.

Rev.—ADVENTVS CAES. Commodus on horseback r., raising r. hand.

²⁰ Cohen, II. *Comm.*, 243-244.

²¹ Cohen, *l.c.* 1-2.

This coin preserves a record of the return of the emperor and his son from the East in the autumn of 176. On the coins of Marcus, the same type, without inscription, appears on coins of the thirty-first tribunician year (*i.e.* 177), and the same event is commemorated in the type of a galley with the inscription FELICITATI AVG.²² This type appears in 177, and is paralleled by a coin of Commodus' first consulate; but there is no need to date the present coin within Marcus' thirty-first year of *tribunicia potestas*.

The coins with CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM., therefore, are in no case earlier than July, 175, and in all cases which can be definitely dated fall within 176.

We now come to the coins of the first consulate, which falls in 177 p.C. The inscription COS appears on all coins up to the beginning of the second consulate in January, 179, and for the present I will treat all with this inscription as forming a single group. Within this group appear the following varieties of titular inscription (I append the number of each variety at Berlin):²³

(i) ... CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. COS.	4*	
(ii) IMP. CAES. ... GERM. SARM. TR. P. COS.	4	
(iii) IMP. CAES. ... GERM. SARM. TR. P. II. COS.	4	} = 14
(iv) ... AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. II. COS. P.P.	9	
(v) ... AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. II. IMP. II. COS. P.P.	1	
(vi) ... AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. P.P.	1*	} = 21
(vii) { ... AVG. TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. P.P.	16*	
{ ... AVG. COS. P.P.	4	
	43	

²² Cohen, *M. A.*, 368, 188. See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 308 sq.

²³ * In each of these cases there is one more coin which is hypothetically attributed to the group in question, but which is not sufficiently legible to make the attribution certain.

The order of the seven groups is clearly chronological, and represents seven stages in the development of the titulature between January 1, 177, and December 9, 178. It will perhaps be best to consider the later stages first, as here it is easier to obtain certain dating. The fourth *trib. pot.* begins with the second consulate practically; there are, however, a few coins (see Cohen, 224) with TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS.; whence we may conclude that by this time, at any rate, the tribunician year of Commodus began normally, *i.e.* on December 10, three weeks before the beginning of the consular year. If we now regard TR. P. III. as a normal tribunician year, we have a rough division of the total number of coins into two equal parts, representing two years, within the first of which fall *two* tribunician periods. Here is the crux. We have, in the first place, to verify the hypothesis, which is already supported by the proportions of the coins, that the third tribunician period was a normal year. This can be done by a comparison with the coinage of the thirty-second tribunician year of Marcus, extending from December 10, 177, to December 9, 178 p.C. We have already seen that during this year Marcus drops the titles GERM. SARM.—and very early in the year, for Cohen gives very few coins for this year bearing these titles, and the Berlin collection has no such specimen. Similarly, among the coins of Commodus for the third tribunician period, only one (or possibly two) of the specimens at Berlin bears the titles GERM. SARM. On the remaining sixteen examples with TR. P. III. it is missing, while there are four other coins without any tribunician number and also without GERM. SARM., which almost certainly belong to the same tribunician period; in any case, the huge majority of coins of this

tribunician period are without GERM. SARM. The conclusion is that the third tribunician period of Commodus coincides with the thirty-second of Marcus, *i.e.* with the year December 10, 177/8 p.C.

Further, among the coins of Commodus with TR. P. II. COS. there is one out of a total of fourteen which bears also the inscription IMP. II. Now we saw that the coins of the thirty-first tribunician year of Marcus testified to a renewal of the imperatorial salutation within the last month or two of that period, *i.e.* about the beginning of November, 177.²⁴ (The proportions are: with IMP. VIII.—37; with IMP. VIII.—6, of which 3 have same type.) The ninth *salutatio* of Marcus must surely correspond to the second of Commodus. It follows that in November, 177, Commodus was still TRIB. POT. II. This leaves it practically certain that the third tribunician period of Commodus coincided with the thirty-second of his father, and with the year December 10, 177/8 p.C.

Of the types belonging to this year, the great majority are mere "repeats." One only is an entirely new introduction, a figure of Liberty with her Phrygian cap, inscribed LIBERTAS AVG²⁵ [Pl. V. 5]. The type has no analogue in the contemporary coinage of Marcus, and it would be difficult to discover the special reason for its introduction, unless it has some relation to the legal reforms with which Marcus was occupied at this time, and which are probably commemorated in his Justitia type of the following year.²⁶ The only other fresh type of this year is a sacrifice-scene expanded from a type of the second tribunician period (see below).

²⁴ See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII. p. 306.

²⁵ Cohen, *Comm.*, 330-333.

²⁶ See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 313-314.

The coins inscribed simply COS. with AVG. and P.P. are in all probability to be dated to the year 178, since they lack the titles GERM. SARM.,²⁷ and their types are identical with those of fully dated coins of this year.

Working backwards into the second tribunician period, we come first to the latest coins of that period, those with the title IMP. II., corresponding with the IMP. VIII., which appears on the coinage of Marcus towards the end of 177.²⁸ Five types occur upon the coins of Commodus for this period, of which three are new introductions. The first is as follows :²⁹

N. Obv.—L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. Youthful bust r., laureate, loricate, paludate.

Rev.—TR. P. II. IMP. II. COS. P.P. Youthful male figure, wearing *chlamys* and conical cap, standing l., holding in l. hand reversed spear, and in r. hand the bridle of a horse stepping l.

The figure is clearly one of the DioscURI, the patrons of the *ordo equester*, of which, as *princeps iuventutis*, Commodus had been the titular head, and does not appear to have any special reference to contemporary events. The second new type may have such a reference :³⁰

Æ¹. Obv.—L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM. Youthful bust, laureate, loricate, paludate.

Rev.—IVNONI SISIPITAE TR. P. II. IMP. II. COS. P.P. Female figure, with peculiar horned head-dress and long robe, standing r., holding on l. arm hexagonal shield, and with r. hand brandishing javelin ; to r., snake coiled, head extended l. [Pl. V. 8].

This type is a revival of one of Pius, who called it Juno

²⁷ Cohen, *Comm.*, 63–68.

²⁸ See *Num. Chron.*, l.c., p. 306.

²⁹ Cohen, *Comm.*, 754–755.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 270–271.

Sospita. The goddess belonged to Lanuvium,³¹ and so was in some sort a patroness of Commodus, who, like his grandfather, was a native of that town. She is here represented as fighting for the emperor in the campaign which won the second *salutatio* (cf. Marcus' fighting Minerva and Jupiter Propugnator). But the third of these new types is the most important historically :³²

Æ¹. *Obv.*—L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM.
Youthful bust, laureate, loricate, paludate.

Rev.—VOTA PVBLICA TR. P. II. IMP. II. COS. P.P.
Male figure (apparently youthful = Commodus), togate with *cinctus Gabinus*, standing l., holding in r. hand *patera* over flaming tripod.

This is clearly a companion to the similar type of Marcus, which appears on coins of 177 with IMP. VIII. and which I have taken to refer to the ceremonies performed at the end of the year in preparation for the emperors' departure for the front in 178.³³ On coins of Commodus (though not of Marcus) for the latter year, the type is worked up into an elaborate sacrifice-scene for a bronze medallion [Pl. V. 6]; the figure of the emperor sacrificing stands before a hexastyle temple, accompanied by a *victimarius* with a bell, a *camillus*, a flute-player, and figures representing attendant priests and the crowd of citizens and soldiers.³⁴

We now come to the kernel of the difficulty—the

³¹ See article on "Juno Sospita of Lanuvium," by Miss E. M. Douglas, in *J. R. S.*, vol. iii. part 1.

³² Cohen, *Comm.*, 931. I have not seen the type on coins of this year. I describe it after the examples in the British Museum and the Berliner Münzkabinett, dated to 178.

³³ See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 303-309.

³⁴ Cohen, *Comm.*, 977.

coins with four different stages of titulature, all of which have to be brought in between January and November (or thereabouts), 177. I will first endeavour to establish correspondences between coins of this group and coins of Marcus' thirty-first tribunician year.

We are not helped here by any parallel titulary changes, for Marcus' titles are quite constant throughout the year. We must, therefore, have recourse to the types. Take first the following coin; I supplement the inscription of a worn specimen at Berlin from Cohen: ³⁵

Æ¹. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM. Youthful bust r., laureate, loricate, and paludate.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. (exergue), TR. P. II. COS. (margin), S. C. *Congiarium* scene: two figures seated l. on curule chairs upon platform, extending r. hand; behind them, also on platform, figure standing l.; to l. female figure in diadem, χιτῶν, and ἱμάτιον, standing l., holding in l. hand *cornucopiae*, and in r. hand *abacus*; to l. of platform, man mounting steps r., extending *sinus* of robe.

This is the ordinary *congiarium* type, representing the emperor and Commodus with the praetorian prefect and Liberality. An identical type appears on the coins of Marcus for this year, with the inscription LIBERALITAS AVG. VII. The seventh Liberality of Marcus is probably to be identified with this one of Commodus. The inscription, in spite of the *two* figures, must be read "*Liberalitas Augusti*," for the Commodus coin belongs to the third stage of this year's titulature, when Commodus had the title *Imperator*, and had entered upon his

³⁵ Cohen, *Comm.*, 299.

second tribunician period, but was not yet Augustus. This fact forbids the identification of the *Congiarium* here represented with the one labelled ³⁶ LIBERALITAS AVGVS(TO)R(VM), without any number (the latter bears no tribunician date). Cohen gives another coin of Commodus (296) with LIBERALITAS AVG. II., and a somewhat abnormal *Congiarium* type: it is cited from Rollin's catalogue, a not too reliable source; and the tribunician date is obliterated. He further gives a coin similarly inscribed, with the type of Liberality, bearing the same titles as the one described above. Evidently this coin belongs to the same event, and apparently it corresponds with the coins of Marcus bearing the same type and the inscription LIBERALITAS AVG. VII.³⁷ About the identification of the *Congiarium* Cohen is somewhat confused here, and indeed appears to contradict himself. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 106) identifies it with the one given on the occasion of the marriage of Commodus with Crispina, mentioned by Capitolinus³⁸ between the bestowal of the tribunician power upon Commodus and the outbreak of the "triennial" war with the Marcomanni, Hermunduri, Sarmatae, and Quadi, *i.e.* the "*expeditio Germanica secunda*" of 178-180. The marriage is mentioned by Dio (lxxi. 33) in the same place in the order of events. Eckhel (p. 106) gives a coin of Commodus and Crispina:

Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM.
Caput laureatum.

Rev.—CRISPINA AVG.—*Caput Crispinae.*

But the great medallion commemorating the marriage

³⁶ Cohen, *M. A.*, 427.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 421-422.

³⁸ *H. A.*, iv. 27, § 8.

given by Eckhel (p. 107) and by Cohen (*Crisp. et Comm.* 3) has IMP. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM. [Pl. V. 7]; and Cohen knows no medal of Commodus and Crispina in which the AVG. is absent from Commodus' style. Indeed, the coin given by Eckhel cannot be accepted, for it is impossible that Crispina should be Augusta when her husband was not yet Augustus. The coins, therefore, do not confirm Eckhel's identification of the *Congiarium*, though they do not, of course, by any means exclude it. At the same time the fact that Crispina only occurs on coins with AVG. rather suggests that the marriage of Commodus was associated with his elevation to the rank of Augustus. The marriage, we are told, was hurried on because of the pressing nature of the troubles on the Danube. The same motives would lead to the complete restoration of the collegiate character of the Empire by the investiture of Commodus with the supreme title. It may be worth while, therefore, to consider whether any other identification is possible. Capitolinus mentions in the chapter (27, §§ 4-5) already cited that a *Congiarium* was also distributed on the occasion of Commodus' investment with the tribunician power. His language is—"Romam ut venit, triumphavit. Exinde Lanuvium profectus est. Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem junxit; congiarium populo dedit," &c. The date of the triumph was December 23, 176.³⁰ The succeeding events must have happened early in 177. The LIBERALITAS AVG. VII. of Marcus might therefore equally well be referred to this occasion, which is probably to be identified with the distribution of 200 *drachmae* to each citizen mentioned by Dio (lxxi. 32: cf. the

³⁰ H. A., vii. 12, § 5.

order of events in the two authors). But there is a fresh difficulty if one further goes on to identify the *Congiarium* of Commodus TR P. II. COS. with this one, for it apparently took place immediately upon his investiture with the tribunician power, *i.e.* one would suppose in the first and not the second tribunician period. In any case it appears that we have two *congiaria* for a period during which only one is represented on the coins, unless, indeed, we take the undated LIBERAL. AVGVSTOR. of Marcus (which certainly falls within this year or the next) to represent a different *congiarium* from the LIBERALITAS VII. of Marcus and II. of Commodus. With this I will leave the question of the *Congiarium* for the present. There are other and greater difficulties.

But to return to the types. We may take next a group associated with the Germano-Sarmatian triumph, which are more or less common to Marcus and Commodus. Take first the following reverses: ⁴⁰

1. TR. P. II. COS. (margin), DE GERM. or DE SARM. (exergue). Pile of arms.
2. TR. P. II. COS. (margin), DE SARM. (exergue). Trophy; at base two captives (both apparently female) seated on ground; one to r. of trophy is seated r. in attitude of grief, and the one to l. of trophy is seated l. with hands behind back.

These are found with the obverse inscription IMP. CAES L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM. The types are also found as follows, with obverse inscription IMP. L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM.

1. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. (margin), DE GERMANIS (exergue). Pile of arms.

⁴⁰ Cohen, *Comm.*, 79-92, 95-103.

2. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. (margin), DE GERM. or DE SARM. (exergue). Trophy and captives as above.

These types are identical with types of Marcus for 176-177, and are also represented on coins of Commodus for the period October, 175, to December, 176 (with titles CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. and without COS.)^{40a}

The following type of Jupiter Victor, again, which occurs with the obverse inscription IMP. L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM., is identical with a type of Marcus for 177:⁴¹

Rev.—TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Jupiter, nude to waist, with robe hanging behind from shoulders and falling over knees, seated l., holding sceptre in l. hand and Victory in r. hand.

The same inscription accompanies the ordinary type of Victory with palm and wreath which appears on the coins of Commodus as on those of Marcus for 177.

The actual triumph, which on the coins of Marcus is represented by a complete triumph scene, and also by the type of the emperor enthroned holding a laurel bough and sceptre, is represented among issues of Commodus by the following medallions and coins:⁴²

Æm. Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM. Youthful bust r., laureate, paludate, with aegis on breast.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. (exergue). *Quadriga*, decorated with reliefs, the horses stepping l.; within, Marcus and Commodus standing l., each holding branch; the car is preceded by a soldier walking l., looking backwards, holding spear in r. hand; above, Victory flying l., carrying trophy.

^{40a} Cohen, *Comm.*, 76-78, 93-94.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 744.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 738, 749-750.

Æ¹. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM. Youthful head r., laureate.

Rev.—TR. P. II. (upper margin), COS. (exergue), S. C. *Quadriga*, decorated with reliefs, stepping l.; within, Commodus standing l., holding in r. hand sceptre, surmounted by eagle; behind him in car apparently a small figure.

The group of coins associated with the triumph of December 23, 176, therefore, covers three stages in the development of the titulature—IMP. CAES. with TR. POT., IMP. CAES. with TR. P. II., and AVG. with TR. P. II.—all corresponding to Marcus' TR. P. XXXI.



COIN OF COMMODUS (*Paris*).⁴³

It remains to notice the coins of the first consulate which have neither IMP. nor TR. P. The most noteworthy of these is the following: ⁴³

Æ². *Obv.*—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. COS. Youthful bust r., paludate.

Rev.—FELICITATI CAES. (on upper margin), S. C. (exergue). Galley with six rowers and steersman moving over waves l.; objects on prow and stern not recognizable. [Cohen gives standard and banner on stern, mast with sail on prow.]

⁴³ Cohen, *Comm.*, 118. Cohen gives the false, and indeed impossible, reading GERM TR. P. COS. The coin in the Cabinet de France, which is reproduced above, shows the reading GERM. SARM. COS. beyond doubt, although the first letter of SARM. is obliterated by wear, and the R seems to have been faultily cut,

This is the corresponding type to Marcus' FELICITATI AVG., and celebrates the safe voyage of the emperor and his son from the East at the close of 176.⁴⁴ It is just what one would have expected, that this type belongs to the earliest group of the coins of the first consulate, though, according to Cohen, it overflows into the second group. The only other type on these earliest coins worthy of note is the following : ⁴⁵

Obv.—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. COS.
Youthful bust r., loricate and paludate.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Clasped hands holding standard resting on prow l.

This type has no parallel among the coins of Marcus for this year. It recalls the clasped hands with caduceus and ears of 176, and the clasped hands inscribed CONCORD. EXERC. of 175. Possibly the female figure with orb and standard of 177 is a Concordia Exercituum, though it is more like Fides.

This type as well as others of the early group (Hilaritas, &c.) would seem to connect with the coinage of previous year, and this is quite marked in the case of the inscriptions. Everything is identical with the coinage of 175-6, *except* the addition COS., which shows that the coins certainly belong to the period after January 1, 177. Here comes the fatal conflict with the literary authorities. Nothing is clearer than that all the coins we have examined with COS. fall into place in the thirty-first tribunician year of Marcus, and if we applied our usual canon based on the proportion of coins

⁴⁴ See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 302.

⁴⁵ Cohen, *Comm.*, 603-604.

in each group, we should draw the following conclusions:

IMP. and TR. POT. appear (together) about February, 177.

TR. POT. II. appears about April, 177.

AVG. P.P. appear (together) about June, 177.

IMP. II. appears about November, 177.

Lampridius, however, states quite plainly—"cum patre appellatus imperator V. kl. Easuperatorias Pollione et Apro coss."—i.e. November 27, 176 p.C., and in another passage (2, § 4) he gives the date again, and places it before the triumph. This, as Eckhel has shown, can only mean that he was on this date entitled to use the *praenomen imperatoris* as his father's colleague in the *proconsulare imperium*. Further, Capitolinus⁴⁶ thus dates the beginning of the tribunician power: "*Romam ut venit, triumphavit. Exinde Lanuvium profectus est. Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit.*" This would make the beginning of Commodus' first TR. POT. fall not long after December 23, 176—say late in January or early in February, 177. This in itself corresponds well enough with the coins; but it involves two assumptions of the tribunician power in a year.

There are therefore two difficulties: (a) the coins do not recognize the well-attested investiture of Commodus with the *imperium* on November 27, 176; and (b) the coins, supported by the order of the narrative in the *Historia Augusta*, place the beginning of the TRIB. POT. early in 177, closely followed by the beginning of TR. POT. II., which gives place to TR. POT. III. in the normal way, at the end of the year, so that we have two

⁴⁶ H. A., iv. 27, §§ 4-5.

tribunician periods in less than one year. Eckhel accepts the evidence of the coins as it stands, supporting it by the supposed example of the double TR. POT. in 192. This example, however, is no longer valid, for the few coins with TR. P. XVIII. are now attributed to the period December 10 to December 31, 192, the beginning of a fresh tribunician year. Eckhel was led astray, as was Cohen also, by the idea that the tribunician year coincided with the consular. On the other side, we have Klebs' *Prosopographia* (s.v. "Commodus"), which cuts the knot by rejecting the coins as inaccurate, and dating the first TR. POT. November 27 to December 9, 176, in defiance not only of the coins but also of the *Life*. I do not quite know what Klebs means by the "inaccuracy" of the coins. Surely the coinage is, under a settled government, the most authoritative document we could wish for. It is primary, other sources secondary. Mommsen⁴⁷ attempts a solution which allows due weight to both sources of evidence. He supposes that Capitolinus is right in dating the beginning of the *imperium* only on November 27, 176, and that of the tribunician power early in 177. Consequently the first tribunician period would be regarded as extending from (say) January, 177, to December 9, 177. But soon November 27, 176, came to be recognized (somewhat as in the case of Vespasian) as the *dies imperii* in the full sense, and in consequence the first year of tribunician power would end on December 9, 176, and the remaining portion of 176/7 would become TR. P. II. This hypothesis still leaves open the question why the title IMP. does not appear on the coins until 177. I do not see how the

⁴⁷ *Staatsrecht* (Aufl. 3), II. p. 801² (p. 757² in original edition, 1875).

question is to be answered. It would appear as if for some reason Marcus did not regard the conferring of the title of *imperator* as a complete measure. It was only an instalment of the powers which were conferred upon the heir to the throne, and awaited consummation by the conferring of the tribunician power. The reason it was conferred is clear from the context in the *Life of Commodus* (2, § 4): "*Cum patre imperator est appellatus V. kal Dec. die Pollione et Apro coss. et triumphavit cum patre; nam et hoc patres decreverant.*" No person could triumph who was not in possession of the *imperium*. Commodus had up to date held no office involving the *imperium* (*Princeps Juventutis* is of course purely honorary). On his return from the victorious campaigns on the Danube the Senate voted the suspension in his favour of the *Leges Annales* and designated him consul: this must be the meaning of the words "*venia legis annuariæ impetrata consul est factus.*" But as his tenure of the *imperium* did not begin till January 12, 177, a special vote conferred on him *pro forma* the *imperium proconsulare* (which brought with it the title IMPERATOR and was reckoned as a *salutatio*), to enable him to take part in the triumph. Marcus would seem not to have fully made up his mind to make the empire again collegiate at once, and hence the tribunician power was not conferred. But even so, it is not explained why the title IMP. does not appear on the triumph coins. But it is without precedent since 23 B.C. for an "*Imperator*" not to hold the tribunician power. On the coins of Marcus himself the IMP. does not appear until his accession to the sole empire in his fifteenth trib. pot. This may possibly suggest a reason why Marcus with his regard for the constitution shrank from allowing one

who was not a colleague in the empire to bear in an official way the title IMPERATOR.

In any case Mommsen's theory seems to be the only one so far propounded which explains the coins while allowing due weight to the literary authorities. Klebs does justice to neither. We might suppose the case to be somewhat as follows: In November, 176, Marcus and Commodus had returned from the front. The emperor wished that the *Princeps Juventutis* should share in the triumph, and for that purpose caused the title *Imperator* to be bestowed upon him by a vote of the Senate on November 27. This, however, was not regarded as having any effect upon the actual position of the prince; perhaps, indeed, it was merely a sort of anticipation of the *imperium* which would naturally be his from January 1 in virtue of his consulate, as seems to be implied in the fact that the *designatio* to the consulate precedes the *appellatio imperatoris* in the narrative of the *Life*. The triumph took place duly on December 23, and it is not surprising that the coins celebrating it did not appear until after Commodus had entered upon his consulate in January 1, 177. We may assume that for this event the father and son remained in the city (Eckhel takes one of the coins which I have attributed to the triumph as a representation of the *processio consularis* of that date). Then follows the retirement to Lanuvium, and it was perhaps there, and in view of disquieting news from the frontier, that the emperor matured the design of raising his son to the same position which he had himself held for fifteen years under Pius. The vote conferring the tribunician power and the various prerogatives associated with it was then passed, and the heir to the throne was described, as Pius had been

described during Hadrian's lifetime, as IMP. CAES. . . .
TRIB. POT.

But this is not the end of the changes of this year. There was another step, which apparently has escaped the notice of the biographers—the consummation of the collegiate character of the empire by the elevation of the Caesar to the rank of Augustus. After Commodus had come to be recognized as the junior colleague of his father, apparently it was decided that the recognition should be antedated to the day on which the first step had been taken—November 27, 176. As a December 10 now intervened, it followed that the present year was the second of the tribunician power of Commodus, and the fiction is perpetuated on the coins. One may compare again the case of Vespasian, who threw back his *dies imperii* to the date on which he had been saluted *imperator*, though his recognition as emperor and his acceptance of the tribunician power fell some time later. It was apparently at no long interval after this change that the *status quo* before the death of Verus was restored, and there were once more two Augusti. I have already suggested the strong probability that this last step was taken on the occasion of Commodus' marriage with Crispina, and it was doubtless hastened from the same causes as the latter event. The growing seriousness of the reports from the front would seem to have forced Marcus against his will to rush through stages at which he would have preferred to have stopped for awhile. Having made sure of the succession of Commodus by admitting him—sooner, even here, than he had originally intended—to the tribunician power, he must surely have intended that for a considerable period he should hold the position which he had himself enjoyed

under Pius, and Pius⁴⁸ under Hadrian. But the weakness of his own health and the pressing nature of affairs on the Danube led him to give up that idea, and against his desire, to install Commodus as a full emperor, in order that there might be perfect continuity in the government in case of his own sudden decease with the war unfinished. The event proved the wisdom of his precautions, while the reluctance shown suffices to clear him of the aspersions commonly cast upon him for thrusting a mere boy into the imperial power.

The salutation which closes the year—the second for Commodus corresponding with the ninth of Marcus—has already been noticed,⁴⁹ and I have suggested that it was for a victory gained by Bassaeus Rufus, the *praefectus praetorio*, or some other of the commanders in the provinces.

The question that remains for decision is that of the *Liberalitas* (or *Liberalitates*) of this year. The coins give TR. P. II and no AVG. If it was the *congiarium* distributed when Marcus “*Commodus sibi collegam in trib. pot. junxit*” one would have expected TR. P.; if it was the one on the occasion of his marriage one would have expected AVG. The latter is, I think, the more serious objection. I incline, therefore, to identify Commodus’ second *Liberalitas*, and Marcus’ seventh, with the *congiarium* distributed on the occasion of Commodus’ receipt of the tribunician power. After all there are extremely few coins with TR. P.; the interval was no great one, and if there were

⁴⁸ Pius had the title of IMP. T. AEL. CAESAR ANTONINVS. TRIB. POT. while Hadrian still lived, and at first was called IMP. T. AEL. CAESAR ANTONINVS AVG. on his accession.

⁴⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 310.

any coins struck during it with the *Liberalitas*, they may well have been lost. For the *Congiarium* on the occasion of Commodus' marriage, might not the LIBERAL. AVGVSTOR. coin of Marcus serve? It has no TR. P., but clearly belongs to this year (for before this year there was only *one* Augustus, and after this year Marcus was IMP. VIII). The emphasis upon the fact that there are *two* Augusti would suit the supposition that the occasion of Commodus' marriage was also the occasion on which for the first time since the death of Verus the empire had two equal rulers.

If the above reasoning be accepted, the accompanying

	TITLES OF MARCUS.	TITLES OF COMMODUS.
166 . . .	<i>Armeniacus p.m. tr. pot.</i>	<i>Caesar.</i>
	<i>xx. imp. iii. cos. iii.</i>	
173 . . .	[<i>Germanicus</i>] <i>tr. p. xxvii.</i>	<i>Caesar Germanicus Aug.</i>
	<i>imp. vi. cos. iii.</i>	<i>fil.</i>
174—Dec. 10th	<i>Tr. p. xxviii. imp. vii. cos.</i>	
	<i>iii.</i>	
175—Jan. 20th		<i>Caesar Aug. fil. pontifex.</i>
circ. June	<i>Germ. tr. p. xxix. imp.</i>	<i>Caesar Aug. fil. Germ.</i>
	<i>vii. cos. iii.</i>	
July 7th		<i>Caesar Aug. fil. Germ.</i>
		<i>princ. juv.</i>
circ. Oct.	<i>Germ. tr. p. xxix. imp.</i>	
	<i>viii. cos. iii.</i>	
	<i>Germ. Sarm. tr. p. xxix.</i>	<i>Caesar Aug. fil. Germ.</i>
	<i>imp. viii. cos. iii.</i>	<i>Sarm.</i>
Dec. 10th	<i>Germ. Sarm. tr. p. xxx.</i>	
	<i>imp. viii. cos. iii.</i>	
176—Dec. 10th	<i>Germ. Sarm. tr. p. xxxi.</i>	
	<i>imp. viii. cos. iii.</i>	
177—Jan. 1st		<i>Caesar Aug. fil. Germ.</i>
		<i>Sarm. cos.</i>
circ. Feb.		<i>Imp. Caes. . . . Germ.</i>
		<i>Sarm. tr. pot. cos.</i>
circ. Apr.		<i>Imp. Caes. . . . tr. pot. cos.</i>
circ. June		<i>Aug. tr. p. ii. cos.</i>
circ. Nov.	<i>Germ. Sarm. tr. p. xxxi.</i>	<i>Aug. tr. p. ii. imp. ii. cos.</i>
	<i>imp. ix. cos. iii.</i>	
Dec. 10th	<i>Germ. Sarm. tr. p. xxxi.</i>	<i>Aug. tr. p. iii. imp. ii. cos.</i>
	<i>imp. ix. cos. iii.</i>	

parallelism of coins of Marcus and Commodus may be found useful.

From the commencement of his third tribunician year the coinage of Commodus runs quite parallel with that of his father, and presents no further difficulties.

C. HAROLD DODD.

III.

THE STEPPINGLEY FIND OF ENGLISH COINS.

(See Plate VI.)

EARLY in September, 1912, a hoard of "Long-cross" pennies was discovered in the Church of Steppingley St. Lawrence, Bedfordshire. The Rev. C. Swynnerton, who was at that time rector of Steppingley, has kindly supplied the following details of the discovery. The church is a modern building, but the pavement under which the coins were found is old. This ancient floor, paved with coarse red tiles 9 inches square, was left as it was when the church was rebuilt sixty years ago, and the present floor laid 4 feet above it. The coins were found 1 foot below the ancient floor, about 10 inches or 1 foot from the north wall of the chancel, and about 2 feet or so within it. They rested in the natural hollow of a rough stone measuring about 2 ft. \times 1 ft. 8 in. \times 10 in. He suggests that the hoard was deposited by Peter di Vitella, who was rector from 1247 to 1273, or during his long absence in Italy, where he died in 1273.

The hoard consisted of 498 pence and 33 halfpence, of which there were 456 pence and 31 halfpence English, 15 pence and 1 halfpenny Scottish, 12 pence and 1 halfpenny Irish, 2 pence Continental, and 13 pence which, being unintelligible, we are unable to

assign to any locality, although they were of the general type of the long-cross coinage of England.

The English part of the hoard contained one short-cross penny and one short-cross halfpenny; the remainder consisted of 455 pence and 30 cut halfpence of the long-cross coinage of Henry III. The Scottish coins were all of the long double-cross issues of Alexander III. The Irish were long-cross coins of Henry III, and the two Continental bore the name of Bernhard of Lippe. The short-cross penny was of the type known as Class V. and was struck by Ledulf in London, and the halfpenny was of the same type curiously double struck, and read IOAN ON . . . obviously of Canterbury, the only place where the name IOAN appears. The remainder of the coins do not call for comment, and they are fully set out in the list. It is satisfactory to know that the only two short-cross coins were of Class V., as, with the exception of the great Brussels hoard in Mr. Baldwin's possession, this is the first deposit in which short-cross and long-cross coins have been found together. In the Brussels hoard, however, we understand all classes of short-cross coins were present, whereas here we have, happily, only examples of Class V. From records we know that the short-cross coins were withdrawn on, or shortly after, the issue of the new long-cross coinage.

In order to make the classification used in the find intelligible, some few words of explanation are necessary, as the paper dealing fully with the subject, and read before the British Numismatic Society a year ago, is not yet in print.¹

¹ This paper is now published in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. ix.

The arrangement of the various types to be found on the long-cross coinage is guided almost entirely by variations of the king's bust and by the obverse legend. The moneyers' names, of which we have a complete list in the appendix to John of Oxenede's chronicle, furnishes us with full information in reference to the provincial mints at the beginning of the coinage in 1248. From a knowledge of these provincial early types we are able to decide on the early types of the mints not included in the list, viz. Canterbury, London, St. Edmundsbury, and Durham. The last mint need not be taken into account, as there were no early coins issued by it to our knowledge, and there were no Durham coins in the find. Additional help is to be found in the patent rolls which give us the dates of appointment of nearly all the moneyers of London and Canterbury. The mint of St. Edmundsbury is also one of extreme usefulness, as has been shown by Mr. Earle Fox, since this mint was only allowed one moneyer and one set of dies at a time. By using all these sources of information we are able to draw up a scheme of classification which in the main is thoroughly satisfactory, and which is as follows (the varieties of type here described are figured on Pl. VI.):—

The whole long-cross coinage is sharply divided by the absence of the king's hand holding a sceptre in the early coins and its presence in the later ones. The coins without the hand and sceptre are divided into four groups, excluding one issue without mint-name, obviously London, reading *hænrīcus rēx* on the obverse and *angliæ tērci* on the reverse.

I. Coins without a moneyer's name, reading *hænrīcus rēx* ANG on the obverse and the continuation of the

obverse legend on the reverse, thus *LIÆ TÆRQI LON, QAN, AED*: mint-mark, star and crescent.

II. Coins reading on the obverse *HÆNRIQVS REX TÆRQI*, the moneyer's name and that of the mint forming the reverse legend: mint-mark, star.

The bust on both these groups is a well-defined one, with a pointed beard and a couple of curls on either side of the head. The crown consists of a flat band, with a central ornament and two large end pellets.

III. Coins reading *HÆNRIQVS REX III*. This large group is further subdivided by the shape of the bust into—

(a) A head like those in group II.

(b) A smaller and rounder head.

(c) A bust usually showing some neck and with a pellet between the upper and lower curls on each side of the head. A colon : is generally found in type (c) between *REX* and *III*, whereas one pellet only is the rule in the earlier types (a) and (b). Mint-mark, star on all groups.

Division I. is entirely confined to the dominant mints, London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury. Division II. occurs on coins from these mints and on many provincial coins. Division III. is represented at all the mints except Durham.

Coins with the sceptre are capable of division into four main groups.

IV. Coins precisely like those of Division III. but with a sceptre in the king's hand which divides the word *REX* from the numeral *III*; in other words, the title *REX* is just outside the sceptre. The legend begins at the top of the coin as on the non-sceptre pieces, and the

mint-mark, star, is present. The king's eyes are round. These coins are very rare.

V. A large group, in which the sceptre divides the obverse legend between III and the king's name. The legend begins on the left side of the head and the mint-mark is removed.

These coins are further subdivided—

(a) Bust with round eyes, usually crescents interspersed among the curls, a crown of which the central ornament reaches the level of the letters of the legend above it, called a high crown, the letter **H** formed with a curved and ornamental initial stroke, and the **R** with an ornamental tail. The **X** as noted.

(b) Like (a), but with **R**.

(c) As the last, but the king's eyes are oval.

(d) A differently formed bust made from different irons. The most noticeable feature is the crown, which has a well-defined fleur-de-lis as a central ornament and half lis as end ornaments in place of the pellets before referred to. (New crown.)

(e) Coins which exhibit most of the peculiarities of group (d), but in which the band of the crown is double and is ornamented with a row of pearls. (Pearled crown.)

(f) Here the crown is again altered and is made with a plain double unornamented band. The old-fashioned pellet endings used in (a), (b), and (c) are reverted to, but the central ornament shows a short stumpy fleur-de-lis, which hardly ever reaches the level of the bottom of the legend. Rows of tiny pellets are generally seen by the line of the cheek and under the chin and single large pellets between the curls. Three pellets thus : are often found before the first letter **h** of the king's name ; **h** itself

has usually a well-marked tail. The **R** differs in form from the earlier one, and the **X** is what Burns in his *Scottish Coinage* called curule-shaped.

(g) In this type the doubling of the band of the crown finally disappears, otherwise the whole type is very like that of (f). The pellets before **h** are not unknown, though seldom to be found. The central ornament on the crown is sometimes a well-formed lis, and sometimes composed of three pellets gradually disappearing into the band of the crown on later coins of this group. Following this, Division V. contains some coins which are obviously more carelessly worked where a trefoil of three pellets marks the central crown ornament, and which would appear to be a later form of coin.

Divisions VI. and VII. hardly concern us, as they are Edwardian types of long-cross coins issued subsequently to any coins in the find which is the subject of this paper.

These coins with the sceptre are practically confined to the four large mints which carried on the country's money-making. There are now known a few very rare coins with the sceptre bearing provincial names, but they present difficulties which have not yet been overcome. Thus most of them would not seem to be of the same work as the ordinary coins, and names on some are misspelt. Further, there is no mention of the moneyers' names in the rolls as there is of the large mints of London and Canterbury.

This, the latest find of long-cross coins, varies in some particulars as regards its contents from other finds that have been more or less carefully described. Coins from all the mints except those of Durham and Shrewsbury will be found noted in the list. Why representatives

of these places should be absent no adequate reason occurs to us. Perhaps coins of Durham and Shrewsbury are of some degree of rarity, but they are certainly not less common than coins of some of the other mints figuring in the list. The small number of coins found may be the chief reason, as it probably is for the absence in the list of many moneyers' names under the provincial mints. The coins of Canterbury give us the names of all Canterbury moneyers previously known. There are four absentees from the list of London, viz. Davi, Robert, Thomas and Phelip. Of these, Davi certainly should have been in evidence as the coins bearing the name are quite common, and he was at work during the period covered by the find. Phelip should as certainly be absent, as his appointment was not gazetted until 1278, long after the latest coin in the hoard.

The mint of St. Edmundsbury, the key to the whole situation, supplies us with 13 coins, of which 10 bear the name of John and 3 the name of Randulf. The first John held office at any rate from 1248, and struck coins reading *Rex Terci*, also coins without the sceptre reading *REX III*, then coins with the sceptre and star mint-mark, and lastly, early varieties of the ordinary sceptre coins. In this find we get one "*Rex Terci*" coin and two early sceptre coins bearing his name. He was followed in 1252 by Randulf, of whom we also get three coins, all early sceptre varieties. Then we get seven late sceptre coins also bearing the name of John. These must be given to John de Bernadise, the date of whose appointment 1265 we know. The earliest long-cross coin in the find, one reading *REX ANG* of London, was struck in 1248. The short-cross penny of Ledulf of London and the halfpenny of Joan of Canterbury will throw the

date back a little, we do not know exactly how much, but both coins were of the latest variety of the short-cross coinage. The later limit of the find is more certain. John II of St. Edmundsbury was appointed in 1265, and Richard of Canterbury (an archiepiscopal moneyer) in 1268. Coins by both these men were present in the hoard. There were no coins of Phelip or late ones of Renaud, whose die Phelip took at London, nor were there any late types at St. Edmundsbury, so that so far as the English coins go, shortly after 1268 is as near as we can approximate to the date of burial of the hoard.

The slight evidence to be gleaned from the Scottish coins points to the same conclusions. They were all absolutely contemporary with English coins present with them in the hoard. The few Irish coins again are worthless in proving anything as regards the date of burial. We are thus left with the Continental sterlings bearing the names BERNHARDV, III' and B'ERN - - - DV B', the former of which has a blundered attempt at the legend RICARDON LVND on its reverse, while that of the second coin bears the legend HEN|RIO|N-|V|ND-|. These are attributed by Chautard (*Monnaies du Type Esterlin*) to Bernhard III of Lippe, 1229-1265, so that here again the Continental sterlings are within the period fixed by the English coins and are of no use for dating purposes. We must, therefore, consider that the hoard under description represented currency issued and in use from shortly before 1247 to some time, possibly a year, after 1268, a period about twenty-one or twenty-two years.

TABLE OF LONDON, CANTERBURY, AND BURY COINS IN THE
STEPPINGLEY FIND.

[illegible]

LIST OF COINS.

PENNIES.

SHORT-CROSS.

Class V.

LONDON.

1. LÆDVLF ON LVND

LONG-CROSS.

BRISTOL.

2. æLI|SON|BRV|ST . III.
- b*
- (double-struck).

CARLISLE.

3. ÆA|MO|NÆ|RL . . III.
- b*
- .

EXETER.

4. ION|ONÆ|ÆÆ|TRÆ . III. *b*.
 5, 6. ION|ONÆ|ÆÆ|TRÆ . III. *b* (2).
 7. PH|LIP|ONÆ|ÆÆ . III. *b*.
 8. PH|LIP|ON|ÆÆ . III. *c*.
 9. RÆ|ÆT|ONÆ|ÆÆ . III. *b*.
 10. WAT|ÆRO|NÆ|ÆÆT . III. *b* (?).

GLOUCESTER.

11. ION|ON|GLO|VÆÆ . III. *b*.
 12. LVÆ|ASO|NG|LOV . III. *b*.
 13. RIÆ|ARD|ONG|LOV . III. *b*.
 14-16. ROG|ÆRO|NG|LOV . II., III. *b*, III. *c* (RÆX: III).

HEREFORD.

17. RIÆ|ARD|ONh|ÆÆ . III.
- b*
- .

ILCHESTER.

18. hVG|æON|IVæ|Lææ . III. b.

LINCOLN.

19. ION|ONL|INæ|OLN . III. b.

20. ION|ONL|INæ| - - - . III. b.

21-23. RIæ|ARD|ONL|INæ . III. a (2), III. b.

NEWCASTLE.

24-26. hæ|RIO|NNæ|Wææ . III. b, III. c (2).

NORTHAMPTON.

27, 28. LVæ|ASO|NN|ORh . III. a, III. b.

29, 30. PhI|LIP|ONN|ORh' . III. b, III. c.

NORWICH.

31. hVG|æON|NOR|WIZ . III. a.

32. ION|ONN|OR|WIZ . III. b.

33. WIL|LæM|ONO|RWI . II. (Tææ).

34-36. WIL|LæM|ONN|ORW . III. a (2), III. c.

OXFORD.

37. GæF|RæI|ONO|XON . III. a.

38. GEF|RæI|ONO|XON . III. c.

39. WIL|LæM|ONO|XON . III. b.

WALLINGFORD.

40, 41. ROË|ERT|ONW|ALI . III. b (2).

WILTON.

42. ION|ON|WIL|TON . III. b.

WINCHESTER.

43. hVG|αON|WIN|αhα . III. c.
 44. IVR|DAN|ONW|INα . III. b.
 45. NIα|OLα|ONW|INα . III. b.
 46. NIα|OLα|ON|WIN . III. c.
 47–49. WIL|LαM|ONW|INα . III. b, III. c (2).

YORK.

50. IER|MIA|ON|VER . III. a.
 51. IER|MIA|ON|VER . III. b.
 52, 53. ION|ON|VER|WIA . III. a (2).
 54. ION|ON|VER|WIA . III. b.
 55. RE|ARO|NA|ERW . III. a.
 56. TOM|ASO|NA|VER . III. b.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

57. ION|ONS'|ADM|VND . II.
58, 59. ION|ONS'|ADM|VND . V. *a* (2).
60. RA|DVL|F:ON|S'AD . V. *b*.
61, 62. RA|DVL|FON|S'AD . V. *b*, V. *c*.
63–65. ION|ONS|AIN|TAD . V. *g* (3).
66. IOh|SON|SÆITAD . V. *g*.
67–69. IOh|SON|SÆITAD . V. *g* (3).

CANTERBURY.

- 70-101. NIα|OLα|ONα|ANT . III. *a*, III. *b* (3), III. *c*
(6), V. *a* (6), V. *b* (6),
V. *c*, V. *f*, V. *g* (8).
102. NIα|OLα|ON|αAN . III. *b*.
103. NIα|OLα|ONα|ANT . III. *b*.
- 104, 105. NIα|OLα|ONα|ANT . III. *b*, V. *c*.
- 106-136. WIL|LαM|ONα|ANT . III. *b* (2), III. *c*, V. *a* (5),
V. *b*, V. *c* (12), V. *g* (10).
137. WIL|LαM|ONα|ANT . V. *c*.
138. WIL|LαM|αON|KαI . V. *c* (with reverse of
V. *d*).

139. GIL BÆ TON ANT	. III. c.
140-149. GIL BÆ TON ǼAN	. V. a, V. b, V. c (4), V. g (4).
150. GIL BÆ ONǼ ANT	. V. c.
151. GIL BÆ TON ǼAN	. V. c.
152-163. ION ON ǼAN TÆ	. V. b (2), V. c (9), V. g.
164. ION ON ǼAN TÆ	. V. b.
165-169. IOH SON ǼAN TÆ	. V. c (3), V. g (2).
170, 171. ROBERT ONǼ ANT	. V. c (2).
172. ROBERT ONǼ ANT	. V. c.
173-187. ROBERT ONǼ ANT	. V. c (2), V. g (13).
188. ROBERT ON ǼAN	. V. c.
189-200. ROBERT ONǼ ANT	. V. f, V. g (11).
201, 202. WA_ TÆR ONǼ ANT	. V. g (2).
203. WA_ TÆR ONǼ ANT	. V. g.
204. ALǼ IN: ONǼ ---	. V. g.
205, 206. ALǼ INO NǼ ANT	. V. g (2).
207, 208. ALǼ ÆIN ONǼ ANT	. V. g (2).
209-215. ALǼ IN' ONǼ ANT	. V. g (7).
216. ALǼ INO NǼA ANT	. V. g.
217, 218. AMB ROǼ I:ON ǼAN	. V. g (2).
219, 220. RIǼ ARD ONǼ ANT	. V. g (2).

LONDON.

221, 222. * hǼNRICVS REX ANG	LIǼ TÆR ǼI'. LVN (2).
223. " " "	LIǼ TÆR ǼI'. LON
224-227. NIǼ OLǼ ONL VND	. II. (3) (one reads TÆRǼ for TÆRǼI), III. a.
228-230. NIǼ OLǼ ONL VND	. III. a, III. c, V. b.
231-258. NIǼ OLǼ ONL VND	. III. b (6) (one reads hǼVRICVS), III. c (9), V. a (2), V. b (10), V. c.
259-261. NIǼ OLǼ ONL VND	. III. b, III. c (2).
262-290. hǼN RIO NLV NDǼ	. III. a (4), III. b (4), III. c (2), V. a, V. b (4), V. c (6), V. g (8).
291. hǼN RIO NLV ND	. III. b.
292, 293. hǼN RIO NLV ND	. III. b, III. c.
294-296. hǼN RIO NLV NDǼ	. V. a (2), V. c.

297-306. RIQ ARD ONL VND	. III. <i>b</i> (?) (double-struck), III. <i>c</i> , V. <i>b</i> , V. <i>c</i> (4) (one reads RIQARQ), V. <i>g</i> (3).
307-311. RIQ ARD ONL VND	. V. <i>c</i> , V. <i>d</i> , V. <i>f</i> , V. <i>g</i> (2).
312-315. WIL L&M ONL VND	. V. <i>c</i> , V. <i>g</i> (3).
316-321. WIL L&M ONL VND	. V. <i>c</i> (2), V. <i>f</i> (2), V. <i>g</i> (2).
322, 323. IOh' SON LVN D&N	. V. <i>c</i> , V. <i>f</i> .
324, 325. IOh' SON LVN D&N	. V. <i>c</i> (2).
326. IOh' SON LVN D&N	. V. <i>d</i> .
327-329. WA T&R ONL VND	. V. <i>g</i> (3).
330. WA T&R ONL VND	. V. <i>g</i> .
331. WA T&R ONL VND	. V. <i>g</i> .
332-453. R&N AVD ONL VND	. V. <i>g</i> (122).
454. R&N AVD ONL VND	. V. <i>g</i> .
455, 456. Uncertain moneyers.	V. <i>g</i> (2).

UNCERTAIN MINTS.

457. NIQ ION NLV ANT	. { III. <i>a</i> (broken) }	12.1 grs.	} Continental Deniers (?)
458. RID ARD OND VMD	. V. <i>c</i> .	15.4 grs.	
459. ARQ WOL MIQ OMD	. V. <i>c</i> .	20.6 grs.	
460. ARQ WIE RVG T&O	. V. <i>c</i> .	18.3 grs.	
461. RIQ TVO ARQ WIG	. V. <i>c</i> .	18.4 grs.	
462. ARQ WIL RVG O&T	. V. <i>c</i> .	20.0 grs.	
463. ARIL VNA ARIL ONQ	. V. <i>c</i> .	20.8 grs.	
464. RIQ WIA TOL RVG	. V. <i>c</i> .	19.5 grs.	
465. NIQ - - - EON - - -	. V. <i>c</i> .		
466, 467. Uncertain	. V. <i>g</i> (2).		
468. ROBERT - - - - - -	. V. <i>g</i> .		

Contemporary Forgery (?)

469. h& NRI QVS R&X III'	DNI QOL EON LVN	19.3 grs.
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Continental Deniers Esterlins.

470. B&RNh&RDV, III'	RIQ OAL ARD VND	17.2 grs.
471. B'&RN - - - DVB'	h&N RIO NLV ID&	18.7 grs.

SCOTTISH.

ALEXANDER III.

(Long Double Cross Issue.)

BERWICK.

472. IOh|AN|ONB|ÆR

473. IOh|AN|ONB|ÆR

474-476. IOh|AN|ON|BÆ (3).

477, 478. IOh|AN|ON|BÆ (2).

479. WA|LTÆ|RON|BÆ retrograde.

480. WI|LL|ONB|ÆR

EDINBURGH.

481. ALÆ|XON|Æ - | - - -

FORRES (?).

482. WA|TÆ|ONF|RÆ :

STIRLING.

483. hÆN|R'OI|ST|RIV

484. hÆ|Ri|ONS|TR

UNCERTAIN.

485. WM|WID|TÆN|DÆR

IRISH.

HENRY III.

(Long-Cross Issue.)

DUBLIN.

486-488. DAV|ION|DIV|ÆLI' (3).

489-496. RIÆ|RD|OND|IVÆ (8).

497. RIÆ|RD|OND|IVÆ

Contemporary Forgery (?).

498. Blundered. 13.2 grs.

HALFPENNIES.

SHORT-CROSS.

1. IOANON - - - - - . (Canterbury).

This halfpenny appears to have been tooled in such a way as to extend the cross to the edge of the coin, and so pass the coin as a long-cross halfpenny; but there is some doubt whether this is the true explanation of its strange appearance. It is now in the National Collection.

LONG-CROSS.

GLOUCESTER.

2. [ROG|ERO|]NG|LOV . III. b. Same dies as penny in B.M.

LINCOLN.

3. IO|ONL| - - - | - - - . III. b.

4. WAL|[TET|ONL|]INQ . II. Same die as penny in B.M.

NORTHAMPTON.

- 5.
- [?]
- [Ph|]
- [?]
- LIP|ONN|[ORh] . III. b.

CANTERBURY.

6. - - - |L&M|ONQ| - - - . V. c.

7. - - |&IN|ONQ| - - - . V. g.

8. AL&|IN?| - - - - - . V. g.

- 9-12. Uncertain moneyers. III. b or c (?), V. a or b (?),
-
- V. b or c (?), V. g.

LONDON.

- 13-15. NIQ| - - - - - |VND . V. a, V. b (2).

16. - - - |OL&|ONL| - - - . V. b.

- | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|---|
| 17. | hæN | --- | --- | NDe | . | V. <i>f.</i> |
| 18. | Riɑ | --- | --- | VND | . | V. <i>c.</i> |
| 19. | --- | LæM | ONL | --- | . | V. <i>g.</i> |
| 20. | --- | LæM | ONL | --- | . | V. <i>g.</i> |
| 21, 22. | RæN | AVD | --- | --- | . | V. <i>g</i> (2). |
| 23. | RæN | --- | --- | VND | . | V. <i>g.</i> |
| 24. | --- | AVD | ONL | --- | . | V. <i>g.</i> |
| 25-27. | Uncertain moneyers. | | | | | II., III. <i>a</i> or <i>b</i> (?), V.
<i>b</i> or <i>c</i> (?). |

UNCERTAIN MINTS.

- 28-31. III. *a*, III. *c* (2), V. *g*.

SCOTTISH.

32. - - - - - |ON| - - - . Bust to right.

IRISH.

33. R10|ARD| - - - - -

L. A. LAWRENCE.

G. C. BROOKE.

IV.

OFFA'S IMITATION OF AN ARAB DINAR.

(See Figure, p. 89.)

THE gold coin of Offa, which forms the subject of this paper, formed lot 269 of the Carlyon-Britton Sale and was acquired for the British Museum collection, which already possessed one of the very few other known gold Saxon coins (that of Wigmund, Archbishop of York, 837-854 A.D.).

It is only five years since Mr. Carlyon-Britton read a long paper on this piece to the British Numismatic Society, which was afterwards published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1908, pp. 35-73. Mr. Carlyon-Britton, after recapitulating the evidence, comes to the same conclusion as Longpérier and Kenyon, the previous writers on this coin, namely, that it is a gold mancus expressly struck for payment of Peter's Pence to the Pope. In this paper I am approaching the question from a different point of view, which may justify me in once more discussing this important coin; sufficient emphasis has not been laid by previous writers on the fact that the piece is an imitation of an Arab dinar, and the conclusions to be drawn from this fact.

Previous writers have been content to take the piece as evidence that Arab dinars circulated in England; but it is necessary to investigate whether Arab dinars were known to Offa and how they came to England. It is well known that enormous quantities of Arab coins have

been found in the lands around the Baltic and in Russia, and we also know from the evidence of the Arab geographers that there was a very busy trade, chiefly in furs, between the Arabs and these lands. These coins are found in Russia, Sweden, Norway, Pomerania, Prussia, Denmark. The finds that have been made in Iceland, Scotland, and England do not belong to the same class as the preceding; they are coins brought from the Baltic lands by the Vikings, and are not evidence of direct intercourse with Arab lands. The remarkable feature of these finds, sometimes containing 10,000–20,000 pieces, is that they consist entirely of silver coins; one or two gold coins have been found in the Baltic lands, but no such hoards as those of the silver dirhems have been discovered. This is entirely in agreement with the statement of Ibn Fazlān that the people of the North used only dirhems and not dinars. Similar evidence of the preference of the barbarians is given by Iṣṭakhri and for an earlier period by Procopius. The suggestion that Arab gold coins reached England *via* the Baltic may be dismissed for two reasons: one is that they did not circulate in these lands, and the second is that even the few finds of Arab silver coins made in England did not reach England in the ordinary course of commerce; they belong to a period later than Offa's reign, and are due to the migrations of the Vikings. On the other hand, finds of Arab silver coins are practically unknown in South-West Europe with the exception of Arab Spain. The object of this paper is to show that Arab gold coins were well known in South-West Europe, roughly the Carolingian Empire, and to show that it was through the latter that Offa came to imitate a coin struck at the other end of the known world.

In the first place, let us examine the coin itself (Fig., No. 3). It is a copy of the coin of the Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr, 754–775 A.D., struck in the last year of his reign 157 A.H. = 774 A.D. (Fig., No. 1), with the additional legend “Offa Rex” on the reverse; the mint is not stated. That it is a copy is evident from the fact that the “Offa Rex” is clearly part of the same die as the Arabic inscription, and not counterstruck, while although the legends are closely copied from the Arabic original there are a number of slips—chiefly omissions—which show that the engraver was unfamiliar with his model; he was, however, a skilful workman and did his work very faithfully. On the obverse the most notable point is the bungling of the word سنة (year), which an Arab workman could never have done; other points are that the ح of احد slopes the wrong way, and the y in the first line of the obverse inscription is more of a cross than it should be. On the whole, however, it is doubtful if but for the “Offa Rex” the inscriptions would ever excite comment among a number of contemporary dinars.

Three very important pieces to be studied with this dinar are another dinar (Fig., No. 2) of the same year in the British Museum (*Cat. Or. Coins*, I. p. 39, No. 24), a second in Berlin (Nützel, *Östl. Chal.*, No. 633, *barbarisiert*), and a third in Paris (Lavoix, *Cat. Khal. Or.*, No. 604, *fabrique barbare*). The B.M. coin was first published by Marsden, who called attention to the fact that the legend was slightly bungled, and Mr. Lane-Poole in his *Catalogue* likewise notes its remarkable features. Neither, however, has any doubt as to its genuineness, and it is undoubtedly, as has been suggested, a contemporary imitation. One feature common to this coin and to the Offa piece has not, however, been properly

emphasized. This is the border of dots; as may be seen from a comparison with the silver coins of Offa (Fig., No. 4), the border on the two gold coins, which is practically complete and well defined, is identical with that on the former. Now, Arab dinars of this time have, as a rule, no border, although on some of them a straight ridge is formed by the edge of the die, which looks like a border; on a very few specimens there do seem to be traces of a border of dots of somewhat different style, but it is clear that the great majority of specimens never had any defined border. The Paris and Berlin coins present similar features, but in style resemble the Offa dinar rather than the B.M. dinar. Now, it is remarkable that the only coins, which can at once be said to be imitations of dinars, should be of the same year, and bear this well-defined border, and that this border should be identical with that on Offa's silver coins, which was probably suggested by the identical border on contemporary Carolingian coins. This is probably evidence that the barbarous coins of 157 A.H. were made in England or France, and mark a stage in the development of the Offa dinar. A reference to Queipo's table in his *Systèmes Métriques* shows that more dinars of the year 157 are known than of any year in the second century A.H.

A comparison of the Roman letters on the gold coin with those of the silver of the same king reveals a great similarity. The characteristic of both is the blobs at the ends of the letters, a feature which is introduced, it might be noted, in the Arabic legends also, although this may be due to an exaggeration of a tendency in this direction in the original. The F, R, and E in both are identical. The form of the A found on the gold coin does not seem to occur on any

of Offa's silver coins, but it is a well-known mediaeval form. It may, however, be mentioned that the making of the O half the size of the other letters on the coin illustrated here is not usual on the silver, and most of the latter have all the letters the same size. There is then every reason to believe that the coin was struck in England by Offa. OFFA REX is of course his usual legend.

The only recorded instance of an Arab dinar being found in Britain is the discovery of a dinar of the Omayyad Caliph Hishām (724-743) at Easingwold (Num. Chron., IX. p. 85), but this can hardly be taken as evidence that these pieces circulated in Britain. Isolated specimens may have been brought to Britain in various ways, but it can hardly have been from such casual specimens that Offa imitated his piece. Nor does it seem likely that, as has been suggested, Arab dinars were brought from Spain. In the first place, we have no records of such intercourse; what relations existed between the Moors of Spain and their Christian allies were decidedly hostile; besides, there is no particular reason why Abbāsid coins should have come from Spain, which had an extensive currency of its own.

The balance of trade between East and West was, moreover, against the West at this period; there was little that the Arabs wanted to purchase from the West, while there arose a keen demand for Oriental luxuries in the West, a demand which rapidly exhausted the extensive gold Merovingian and Visigothic currencies of the fifth and sixth centuries. Arab money could hardly have come to England and France in the course of trade in any considerable quantities, as the few things required by the Arabs would be more than paid for in imports.

The only country with which England had any intimate relations in the eighth century was the Carolingian Empire, and it is through the latter that the dinar or dinars which suggested to Offa his gold piece must have come. We will now inquire to what extent these pieces were known in the Carolingian Empire.

We have considerable evidence to show that there was much intercourse between the Carolingian Empire and the East in the eighth century. Marseilles was then a great centre for trade with the East, and Arab merchants were settled there. Pilgrims went to Syria in large numbers every year. Alexandria was the great centre of the East, and it was thither that pilgrims and merchants from Europe first went; there, too, they converted their gold and jewels into Arab money. The remarkable purity of the latter rendered it unnecessary to have it changed before leaving the East again; it was probably found a convenient form of hoarding wealth—just as the English sovereign and £5 piece is in India at the present day—and cannot long have remained unknown in Western Europe.

The accounts of the interchange of embassies between the Carolingian Emperors and the Abbāsid Caliphs may here be briefly summarized. In 768 Pépin sent an embassy to Manṣūr, which returned three years later accompanied by a return embassy. Similar exchanges of courtesy took place, till in 797 Charlemagne sent two ambassadors to Hārūn al-Rashīd; they died on the journey, but their retinue returned in 801 with a return embassy laden with gifts, which were officially presented to Charlemagne in Aachen in 802. Contemporary chroniclers wax eloquent over the elephant sent to Charlemagne by "Aaron, King of the Persians,

who rules over almost all the East except India." Einhart (ch. xvi), for example, says that it was the only one Hārūn had, but so great was his affection for "his brother" Charlemagne that he at once sent it at the latter's request. In the list of presents sent by the Caliph, Saxo (iv, 89) expressly mentions "*aurum*" along with gems, garments, scents, and all the wealth of the East. This *aurum* was presumably coined money, and must have formed a considerable portion of the presents brought by previous envoys also. "So great was the wealth brought by the Arab ambassadors," says the monk of St. Gall (ii, 8), "that they seemed to have emptied the East and filled the West." The return gifts sent by Charlemagne included horses and dogs, the latter being particularly prized. Charlemagne was on equally good terms with the "King of Africa," and these relations were continued by his successors, for we find Louis the Débonnaire receiving an embassy from the Amīr al-Muminīn of Persia in 831.

As Weil has pointed out, these relations were probably fostered by a common enmity against the Arabs of Spain, who had been driven out of France by Charles Martel, and against whom Pépin and Charlemagne waged continual war. Finds of Andalusian coins have been made in France, but they do not concern this article and are readily explained.

So far we have shown that there was much intercourse between the Carolingian Empire and the East in the eighth century A.D., sufficient to justify the assumption that Arab coins must have been known in France and might thence have reached England. We have, however, contemporary evidence that this really was the case. Theodolphus, who was sent in 797 by

Charlemagne on a tour through Provence, has described his journey in a poem called the *Paraenesis ad Iudices*, in which he satirizes the corruptness of the judges; among the bribes which they accept from litigants, he mentions gold pieces with Arab legends.

“Iste gravi numero nummos fert divites auri
Quos Arabum sermo sive caracter arat.”

Prou suggests that the few gold coins of Charlemagne now known were originally issued to compete with the Arab gold that circulated in France. It seems from a passage in one of Longpérier's essays, that finds of gold Arab coins have been made in France, but he gives no details. The only other gold coin of the period that could vie in popularity with the Abbāsid dinar was the solidus of the Byzantine Empire, and a comparison of the number of gold coins of these two great currencies of the period in any modern collection shows that the Arab dinar must have had the greater circulation. We are fortunate in having at least one find of the period which illustrates the gold coinage of the Carolingian Empire of the eighth and ninth centuries. In 1857, during the erection of a bridge over the Reno near Bologna, a number of gold coins were found eight feet below the bed of the river. These were 41 Byzantine solidi, 5 of Beneventum, and 13 dinars of the Abbāsid Caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdi, Hārūn al-Rashīd, and al-Āmin, the latest coin being of Constantine VII (813-820) and the latest Arab coin was dated 198 A.H. = 814 A.D. As a number of human bones were found with the coins, and the coins could hardly have been buried in the bed of the river deliberately, it seems probable that the owner was drowned there while carrying

his wealth with him. It was suggested by Dr. L. Frati, who first described the find, that the owner was an Arab merchant, but there is no real ground for supposing that this was so. The main point is that this find shows that about the end of the reign of Charlemagne Arab dinars were current along with the Byzantine and Beneventan gold coins in the Carolingian Empire.

It was probably mainly as a means of hoarding wealth that these coins were esteemed in France, and they probably did not circulate like contemporary silver coins, as the fine preservation of gold coins of this period in modern collections suggests. A certain number may have been brought from France to England in various ways, but it is unlikely that they were used much for commercial transactions, chiefly because the balance of trade lay on the other side. It is more probable that these coins were first brought to Offa's notice in a more remarkable fashion. We have already seen that both Pépin and Charlemagne had received presents of great value from the Caliphs al-Manşūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd, including large quantities of gold. It may fairly be presumed that this gold was in the form of coined money—dinars such as formed the original of this coin of Offa. Here we have a large quantity of gold dinars directly imported into France, and the expenditure of the Arab ambassadors during their stay in the Carolingian dominions must have considerably increased the amount of Arab money in the country. That there was a good deal of intercourse between England and France about this time is clear from the correspondence between Charlemagne and his "very dear brother" Offa regarding English pilgrims to Rome (pilgrims were exempt from customs' dues on their way through France, and

Charlemagne's tax-collectors very greatly suspected a good many English pilgrims of being merchants, who carried on their business, under a guise of piety, without paying the legal dues). Charlemagne and Offa were on terms of great friendship except for a brief period of estrangement; many presents are known to have passed between them; for example, in 795 when Charlemagne defeated the Avars he sent some of the spoil of the barbarians to Offa. English pilgrims and merchants to England may have brought back specimens of Arab dinars to England; we would suggest, however, that Charlemagne sent specimens of the Arab dinars which he and his father had received from the Caliph, and that this is how Offa first became acquainted with gold coins. The fact that so many dinars of the year 157 have survived and that it is the year of which imitations exist, suggests that an unusual number of these coins must have been brought to Europe; this would not happen in the ordinary course of commerce, and the inference is that coins of this year were specially struck by the Caliph for presentation to the Carolingian Emperor. Offa therefore having already instituted a silver coinage on the model of the Carolingian now desired to have a gold coinage, and following the universal practice in such cases, copied the coinage that had suggested the idea to him as closely as possible; it would have been quite contrary to all numismatic laws for him to have instituted at once a gold coinage of the same style as his silver coins; to him the essential features of a gold coin were those of the only gold coins he knew.

We thus see that this piece of Offa is quite a natural commercial development such as can be paralleled in the history of many coinages, and there is no reason to

suppose that it was struck for any special purpose. The imitations of Almoravid dinars, bearing Christian legends in Arabic issued by Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214 A.D.) and the coins of the Crusaders in Syria, also with Christian legends in Arabic, imitating the coins of the Fātimids and Seljūks, are not quite analogous to this dinar of Offa. The closest parallel is found in a silver coin of Henry II of Germany, the reverse of which still retains the name and titles of the Imām Hishām (976-1005 A.D.) (cf. Dannenberg, *Die Deutschen Münzen der Kaiserzeit*, p. 460 ff., Pl. liii. 1185).

Now it has generally been held that this piece is a mancus, a gold piece specially struck for the payment of the annual tribute of 365 gold mancuses to the Pope for the maintenance of the English school in Rome, the lighting of St. Peter's, &c. The fact that the coin is believed to have been originally acquired in Rome has been held to be evidence that it originally went to Rome as Peter's pence; while this may show that it reached Rome even in Offa's time, and perhaps even as tribute, it certainly does not prove that it was specially struck for this object. As Rome was the centre of the mediaeval world coins of all countries reached it in the ordinary course, and other rare English coins are known to have been found there, but these were most likely brought by pilgrims for their ordinary necessities. It is more probable that the coins—if the payment was made in coins—that were sent to Rome did not get into circulation in their original form, but were melted down and re-issued. It has been suggested that Offa would not have presented coins with Muslim legends to the Pope, but it is unlikely that Offa knew what the legends were, nor

do we think it likely that they would have been considered.

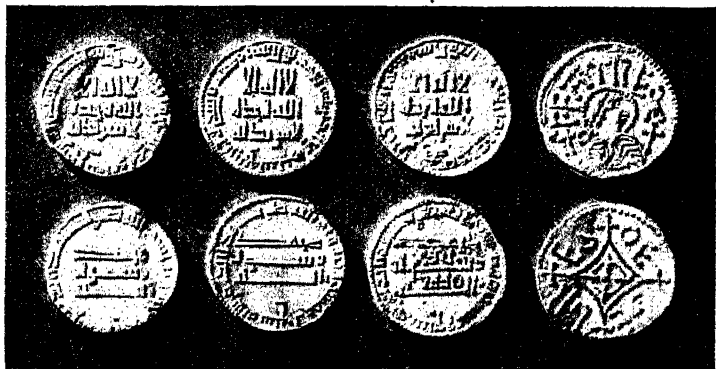
A more serious objection is that there is no evidence that the mancus was a coin; it seems to have been a money of account, and the mention of 365 mancuses does not imply 365 coins. The tribute was probably paid in silver, the standard of Northern Europe at this time. It is probable that this currency of Offa's was quite an ephemeral attempt to institute a gold currency just as Charlemagne's gold issues were. The dinar must have been about the same value as the mancus of silver, and indeed we find mancus glossed by *bazanticum* (the Byzantine *solidus*) and *aureus*, but it must be insisted that when Offa struck this coin he was not striking a gold mancus but an imitation of a dinar.

It has been customary to quote the *MVNVS DIVINVM* coin of Louis the Pious (814-860 A.D.) as further evidence that Peter's pence was paid in special coins. But, as M. Prou has pointed out, the legend *munus divinum* does not mean a gift to God, but refers to the laurel wreath on the reverse, which is exactly like that on the king's head on the obverse. The legend is a sign that the crown, the symbol of regal power, is a gift from God, an allusion to the coronation by the Pope, the representative of God; it thus bears some resemblance to the well-known formula *Dei gratia*. This particular coin, though it soon disappeared in France, was much imitated in the north by the Frisians—such imitations have been found in Frisia and Norway. It was probably through Frisia that the type was brought to England, where we find it imitated by Wigmund, Archbishop of York (837-854). This latter piece weighs 68·4 grains.

One more point remains to be discussed, the suggested

etymology of the A. S. *mancus* from the Arabic *mankush*, an etymology which seems to have the support of Dozy, but he apparently relies on Ducange, and does not discuss the word in his *Glossaire*. The word "mancus"—the form "manca" is also found—seems to be of Germanic origin, although it is also found in Old French, but it is not found in other Romance languages, the usual medium by which Arab words penetrated into European languages. The Arabic word *mankush* is the past participle of *nakash*, to engrave; it is not correct to say that it means a coin, although it is occasionally found in poetical language applied to coins as the "engraved" pieces. It certainly never was a common word in Arabic for a coin, like *dinar* or *dirhem*, and it is improbable that it could have been adopted by any European nation as the name of an Arab coin. As the first Arab gold coins only date from the end of the seventh century it seems incredible that a highly poetical word like *mankush*, rarely used and not quotable till later, could have been well established in the Germanic languages early in the eighth century as the name of a particular coin.

J. ALLAN.



1

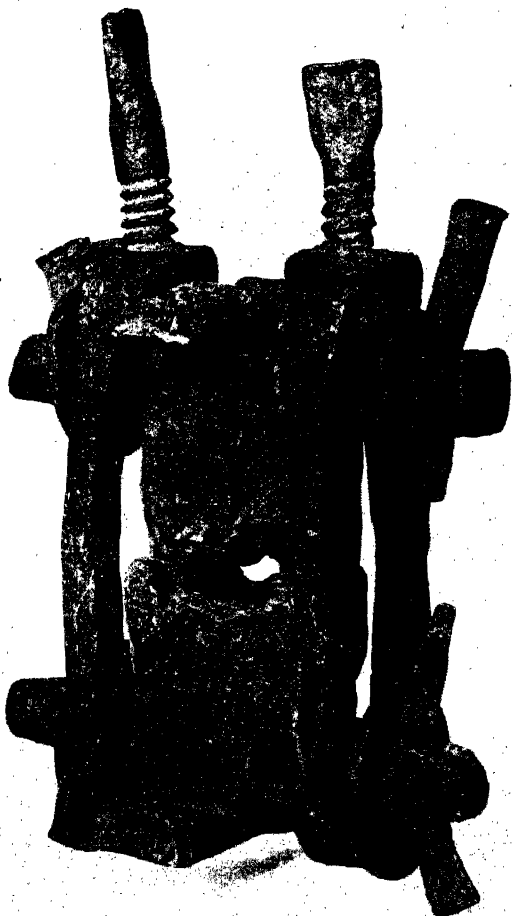
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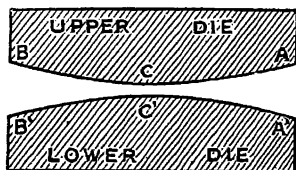
MISCELLANEA.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COINING-PRESS.



THE press here illustrated stands about nine inches high, exclusive of the top screws, and was acquired in Cordova by

the owner, Mr. W. G. Buchanan, who has kindly allowed it to be reproduced in these pages. The two cases for holding the dies are of cast bronze; the rest of the machine is of iron.¹ The dies are sections of cylinders of roughly two inches radius. The mechanism was a rocking one. The base was fastened to a block of some kind, and a lever lashed to the top horizontal bar. By depressing this lever to one side, the whole machine, except the bottom case (containing the lower die) and the base, was rocked, and A came in contact



with A', so that there was space to insert the blank between the dies. The lever was then pulled over in the opposite direction; when C and C' came into contact with each other (save for the blank between them) a great pressure was exerted, and the coin was struck. When, the movement being continued, B came in contact with B', the finished coin could be extracted.

The two dies which were acquired with the machine are very much worn and must have been much used. The coins which were struck with them were of Philip III. It is possible to make out on the dies only two letters (the last I of III and the D of D.G.) on the obverse; on the reverse PANIARV is legible. The types are the usual lion and castle. The castle is flanked by a chalice surmounted by a star on the left, and Y surmounted by O on the right. Apart from these mint-marks and the reading HISPANIARVM instead of HISPAN. REGNORVM the coin seems to have been similar to the copper piece illustrated in Heiss, I. Pl. 33. 20. Don Guillermo de Osma, consulted on the identification of the coin, writes:—

“The impression gives, undoubtedly, a Philip III coin. Save the difference of the shortened HISPAN., I think it is the same as the rubbing I enclose. At this time, the greater part—by far the greatest—of the coinage would be done at Segovia, where they had water power. Heiss's examples

¹ Some portions of the iron-work (*e.g.* the rings) look more modern than the rest, and may be restorations.

are nearly all Segovian. At the smaller 'cecas'—one being Cuenca—there may have been many minor differences, like the 'Hispan.' *vice* 'Hispaniarum.' So much so that in a small find of copper coins (of the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV) quite half might be considered 'inedita.'"

The machine is so roughly made, as is plain from the photograph, that it is possible to doubt whether it was the property of an official mint. If it was not, then the unauthorized coiner exercised his art for a considerable period, judging from the state of the dies, unless he stole them after they had been discarded as worn out.

The relation of this form of press to the others which were in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a point which, having described the object before us, I leave to others more competent to deal with the subject.

G. F. H.

A FIND OF THIRD-CENTURY ROMAN COINS AT PUNCKNOLL, Co. DORSET.

THESE coins formerly belonged to Colonel W. L. Mansel of Puncknoll, and after his death in 1913 they were presented by Mrs. Mansel to the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester. The date of the discovery of the hoard cannot be stated with actual certainty, but it is known that the coins came into the possession of the family during the lifetime of Colonel Mansel's father, who died in 1859. Since that date the parcel had remained in the manor house at Puncknoll.

Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, in the course of a description of this coast parish, tells us that "about the year 1850 an earthen jar was turned up by the plough in the middle of a field near the Knoll. In this process it was broken, and many coins of the emperors, Postumus, &c., who reigned in the third century, were scattered and are in the possession of various persons of the neighbourhood" (3rd ed., vol. ii. p. 769). It is believed that the coins now in the Dorchester Museum comprise that portion of the original hoard which the then lord of the manor, Mr. Morton G. Mansel, was able to recover after the finder of the jar had dispersed the contents. The foregoing statement by the county historian is confirmed by another member of the late owner's family, through whom I learn that the coins in question were found about 1850 in a field named "Walls" on the Abbotsbury side of the Knoll, a prominent hill which overlooks the sea. Several other finds, both of Roman and of prehistoric objects,

have occurred in the parish from time to time, the most recent including a Bronze Age cinerary urn of unusual shape. A reputed Roman camp lies about two miles to the north, and in the surrounding district are other hill-camps, many barrows, and some megalithic remains.

As to the coins themselves, they were 107 in number, all being third brass with the exception of two billon pieces; a few of the former exhibited signs of having been washed with tin or debased silver. They ranged, but not in complete sequence, from Gallienus to Carausius, thus extending over a period of about forty years, A.D. 253 to 293, and in this respect it seems probable that they would be fairly representative of the entire deposit. Of Postumus there were 55 coins with 16 separate types, and of Victorinus 40, with 9 types, according to Cohen's arrangement.

The great majority of the specimens were remarkably uniform in colour and free from corrosion, indicating that they had been deposited in a closed vessel and not in contact with the soil, and they showed very slight traces of wear by circulation. I noticed, too, that as a rule the obverses were carefully struck, and bore good portraits, whereas the reverses were for the most part ill struck or carelessly centred. There were not, however, any overstruck pieces, nor any which had been impressed with one die only.

A similar inequality in the workmanship on the two faces of the coins of the Tyrants' period is mentioned by Lord Selborne, in his description¹ of the great hoard of Roman money discovered at Blackmoor, in the adjoining county of Hants, a find in which the limits of date coincide, substantially, with those of the Puncknoll coins.

Unfortunately, my examination of the latter did not disclose any new types or varieties, and the reverses have in many instances been already noted in connexion with other finds in Britain. One coin should, perhaps, be specifically referred to, viz. the solitary example of Carausius, which resembles Mr. P. H. Webb's No. 1035 (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. VII. p. 391), and is not unlike No. 104 in the Blackmoor hoard (*supra*, p. 147). This is apparently a somewhat uncommon type.

Although there happens to be little that is of numismatic interest in the following list, it may be useful to set out the

¹ "In others, the impression is regular and in its proper position on the one side, but imperfect and out of position on the other" (*Num. Chron.*, New Series, Vol. XVII. p. 94).

numbers and the facts as to the *provenance* of the undispersed portion of this find of about sixty years ago.

The numbers within brackets are taken from the second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*.

GALLIENUS.

(149)	Deo Marti, <i>billon</i> , 1	
(859)	Provid aug, 1	
(1014)	Ubertas aug, 1	3

SALONINA.

(39)	Fecunditas aug, 1	
(50)	Felicitas publica, <i>billon</i> , 1	2

POSTUMUS.

(67)	Fides militum, 2	
(101)	Herc pacifero, 2	
(153)	Jovi propugnat, 1	
(159)	Jovi statori, 3	
(161)	Jovi victori, 2	
(199)	Moneta aug, 5	
(215)	Pax aug, 13	
	8 with P in field, 5 without.	
(220)	Pax aug, 1	
(243)	P.M. TR. P. COS. II. P.P., 4	
(295)	Providentia aug, 7	
(331)	Saeculi felicitas, 7	
(336)	Salus aug, 2	
	Globe on ground.	
(360)	Serapi comiti aug, 2	
(365)	Ubertas aug, 2	
(377)	Victoria aug, 1	
(419)	Virtus aug, 1	55

VICTORINUS.

(9)	Aequitas aug, 1	
(36)	Fides militum, 2	
(49)	Invictus, 9	
(79)	Pax aug, 10	
	V and star in field	
(83)	Pax aug, 1	
(90)	Pietas aug, 7	
(101)	Providentia aug, 3	
(112)	Salus aug, 5	
(126)	Victoria aug, 2	40

TETRICUS, THE ELDER.

(54)	Hilaritas augg, 2	
	rev. illegible, 1	3

TETRICUS, THE YOUNGER.

<i>Rev.</i> illegible, 1	1
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CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

(74) <i>Felic tempo</i> , 1								
(83) <i>Fides milit</i> , 1	2

CARAUSIUS.

(233, var.) <i>Pax aug</i> , 1	1
or, <i>Webb</i> , 1035	
							Total	107

HENRY SYMONDS.

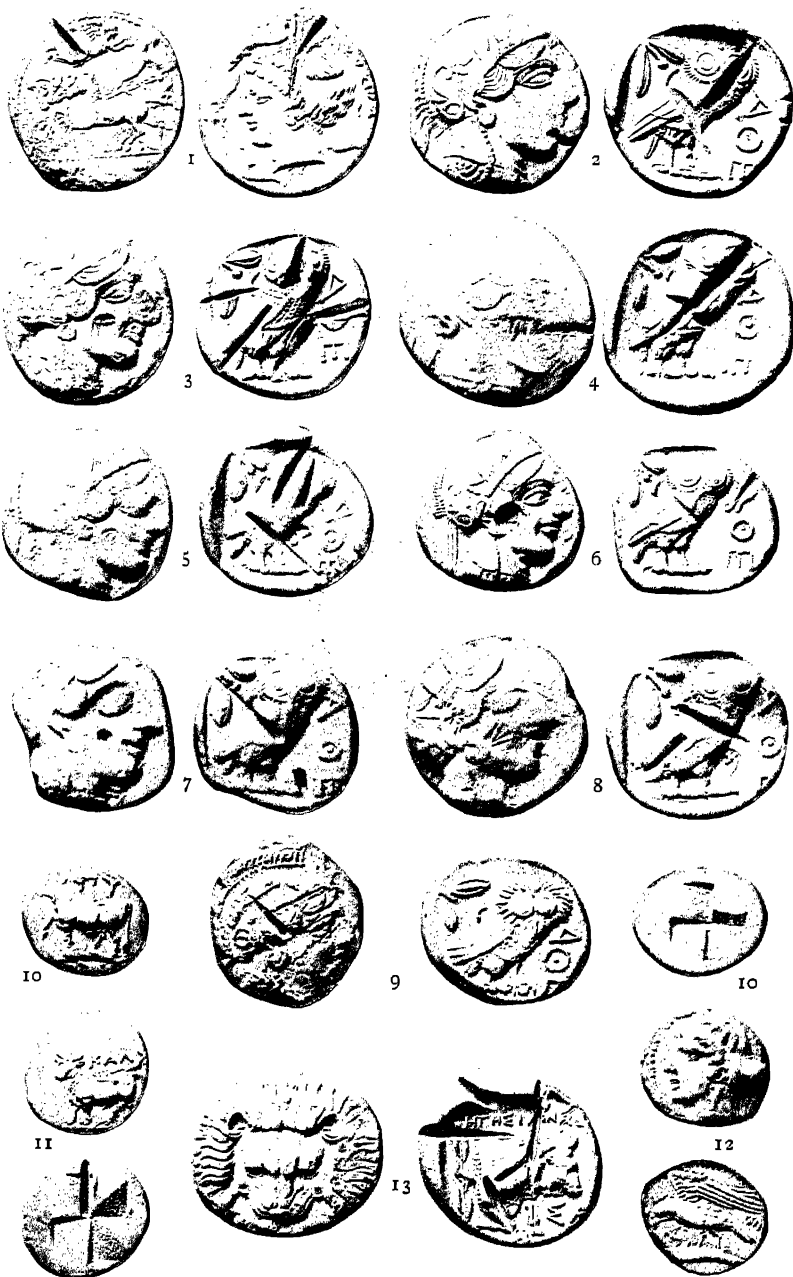
NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION.

A Handy Guide to Jewish Coins. By the Rev. E. Rogers, M.A., London. Spink & Son. 1914. Pp. 108; with 9 collotype plates. 2s. 6d.

THE Jewish series is one of peculiar difficulty, owing to the bad craftsmanship which distinguished the die-engravers at all periods; the puzzles which it affords belong for the most part to what may be called the "higher numismatics"; and it is entirely devoid of artistic interest. But all these defects are compensated by its connexion with Biblical history, which will always attract people to it, especially in this country, where, as a French critic once remarked, you cannot get people to take an interest in archaeology unless you can tack it on to the Bible. Thus for the public for whom Mr. Rogers's book is intended there will seem to be nothing superfluous in the "pulpit references" with which it is generously adorned, although hardened numismatists may find them to some degree embarrassing. The book is, however, by no means a mere popularisation of other writers' views; Mr. Rogers has thought out the problems for himself, and has made some interesting contributions towards their solution. He starts his chronological classification by attributing the copper coins of "year 4" to the early days of the Maccabees, *i.e.* to Judas Maccabaeus, in 161 B.C. (being the fourth year after the fortification of Zion in 164 B.C.); while the thick shekels and half-shekels

in silver he gives to Simon and John Hyrcanus. I cannot believe, for epigraphic reasons, that these two sets of coins were issued within so short a distance of each other; but that argument can only be expounded with the help of tables. There is nothing said about silver in the rescript of Antiochus Sidetes; and to say that, if Antiochus gave the Jews the right of coinage, it was gratuitous waste of record for the writer of 1 Macc. xv. 5, 6 to mention it unless the right was used, and used to the full, is to ignore the evidence of numismatic history, which is full of such unused privileges. The curious quarter-shekel in silver in the British Museum is assigned by Mr. Rogers to the First Revolt. He uses its poor workmanship as an argument against the attribution to that period of the thick shekels and half-shekels. It is certainly poor; but it is quite common to find a mint taking more trouble over its higher denominations than over the lower ones. However, the attribution of the shekels may be argued about for ever, and is not likely to be finally settled until we have the evidence of some such find as in a large degree cleared up the question of the Second Revolt.

Mr. Rogers supplements his account of the purely Jewish coins with two chapters on all the others which can possibly be brought into connexion with Jerusalem—such as the colonial coins of Aelia Capitolina (in his description of which the word “colon” betrays his use of a French authority), the Arabic and Crusader coins, and Roman coins circulating in Palestine. There are also plates illustrating the coins of Christian and Turkish claimants to Jerusalem, and coins mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. The figure of Livia-Ceres, by the way, on the denarius of Tiberius, is mis-described as the “Emperor seated as priest.” A word of praise is due to the plates, which are much better than could have been expected from the extremely moderate price of the book.



A CILICIAN FIND.



A CILICIAN FIND.



I



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11





A CILICIAN FIND.



COINAGE OF COMMODUS UNDER MARCUS.



Ia



Ib



II



IIIa



IIIb



IIIc



IV



Va



Vb



Vc



Vd



Ve



Vf



—Vg—



—Vg—



VI



VII

l. hand ; in field r. stag standing r., head reverted. Guilloche border.

Rev.—Stag standing r.; border of fine dots; circular incuse.

R. ↓ 22 mm. Wt. 113·0 grs. (7·32 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 7.] *Circa* 480 B.C. Restruck on a Corinthian stater; the curved wing and hind-quarters of the Pegasus are plainly visible on the reverse.

CROTON.

5. *Obv.*—ΩΡΟ l. upwards, ΤΟΜ r. downwards; tripod; guilloche border.

Rev.—No inscr.; similar type incuse; hatched border.

R. ↑ 20 mm. Wt. 27·4 grs. (1·77 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 8.]

Apparently not a third, but a quarter, of the stater. The only other instance of this denomination at Croton, or anywhere in the Italic system, seems to be a coin formerly in the Benson collection.³

6. *Obv.*—Tripod; traces of linear border.

Rev.—Eagle with closed wings standing l., head reverted; above and below it, Ο^Ο; to l., remains of Ϟ (?); concave field.

R. ↓ 11·5 mm. Wt. 13·2 grs. (0·85 grm.).
[Pl. VII. 3.] A diobol of the fifth century, of apparently unpublished types.

RHEGIUM.

7. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp; border of dots.

Rev.—H within a large Ο.

R. ↑ 8 mm. Wt. 4·4 grs. (0·29 grm.).
[Pl. VII. 5.]

³ Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, February, 1909, lot 105, 28½ grs. I owe the reference to Mr. Robinson.

The two letters on the reverse mark the denomination as a hemi-obol. The same method of naming the denomination is employed on a later copper coin of the same place (Payne Knight, *Num. Vet.*, p. 234, B. 1, under Heracleiae).

GELA.

8. *Obv.*—Slow quadriga r., passing meta; border of dots.

Rev.—C above, EAA r.; forepart of human-headed bull r., the neck wreathed with olive. Traces of incuse circle.

Æ. ↑ 29 mm. Wt. 261·3 grs. (16·93 grms.).
From the Virzi collection. [Pl. VII. 9.]

This coin, unfortunately not in the best state of preservation, is from the same obverse die as *B. M. C.* 10, and from the same die on both sides as the magnificent Jameson specimen,⁴ and another, of which an electrotpe is in the British Museum.

MESSANA.

9. *Obv.*—Mule biga r., driven by charioteer; above, Nike flying r. to crown the mules; in exergue, leaf; border of dots.

Rev.—MEZZAN | ON around, beginning below; hare running r.; above, B. Dotted incuse circle.

Æ. ← 30·5 mm. Wt. 265·5 grs. (17·20 grms.). [Pl. VII. 12.]

Presented by Sir Athelstane Baines, C.S.I. The tetradrachm, *B. M. C.* 19 (from different dies on both sides), also shows B, but under the animal, whereas the drachm, *B. M. C.* 20, has it above, like the new

⁴ *Catal.* 581 = Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhib. of Greek Art, 1903, No. 139.

tetradrachm. A tetradrachm with the older legend MESSENION (*B. M. C.* 16) has A above the hare.⁵ One is tempted to assume that this is a case of the numbering of issues; and this seems to be confirmed when we find C and D on coins of the same style (Benson Catalogue, Pl. vii. 230, and Sotheby's Catalogue, "A Bachelor," 1907, lot 70, Pl. iii. 42; ME22ANION⁶). If this series is continuous, then the coin marked A must belong to the year before the expulsion of the Samians (some time before 476 B.C.), while the others follow immediately on it.

MESEMBRIA.

10. *Obv.*—Beardless head r., wearing crested helmet with cheek-pieces.

Rev.—Pelta-shaped shield, seen from inside; below and on it, M E T A; border of dots; concave field.

Æ. ↓ 12·5 mm. Wt. 29·1 grs. (1·89 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 11.]

Cp. Berlin *Beschreibung*, I. p. 189, Nos. 12, 13. The two marks which appear in the middle of the shield are the loops for the arm.

ORRHESCH (?).

11. *Obv.*—Centaur r., carrying a nymph in his arms; border of dots; chisel-cut.

Rev.—Quadripartite incuse square.

Æ. 21·5 mm. Wt. 122·4 grs. (7·93 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 10.]

⁵ Cp. Hirsch, *Katal.* xxix. No. 94.

⁶ A second specimen, with the D below the hare has recently been presented to the Museum by Mr. R. Taylor. Mr. E. J. Seltman, who called my attention to the Benson coin, also points out that E occurs in the Rollin and Feuillant coin (Catalogue, June 20, 1906, 469); but there the inscription is given as ME22ENION.

The only peculiarity of this specimen is its low weight. A specimen at Berlin (Babelon, *Traité*, 1478) weighs 8.10 grms., and a third in the British Museum (Montagu Sale, II. 99) 135.4 grs. (8.77 grms.). As the last rises just above the normal of the Euboic standard, these low weights must be taken as due to casual degradation of the "Babylonian" standard, and not to the adoption of the Euboic.

CORINTH.

12. *Obv.*—Pegasus flying r.; below, ♀.

Rev.—Head of Athena r. in Corinthian helmet; behind, pileus and E. Concave field.

Æ. Stater ↑ 24.5 mm. Wt. 128.8 grs.
(8.35 grms.). [Pl. VII. 13.]

First half of the fourth century.

MELOS.

13. *Obv.*—Μῆλον on stalk with two buds.

Rev.—Λ A Λ I in the four quarters of a four-spoked wheel, surrounded by border of dots in incuse circle.

Æ. 24 mm. Wt. 212.1 grs. (13.74 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 14.]

14. *Obv.*—Similar, the buds obscure.

Rev.—Λ A Λ I C N around a triskeles of human legs turning to r.; border of dots; incuse circle.

Æ. 23 mm. Wt. 216.0 grs. (14.00 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 15.]

15. *Obv.*—Similar, but one bud and one leaf; border of dots.

Rev.—Λ A Λ I C N around a crescent; border of dots; traces of incuse circle.

Æ. 22 mm. Wt. 212.1 grs. (13.74 grms.).
[Pl. VII. 16.]

From the famous Melos find.⁷ The acquisition of these specimens by the Museum is due to the generosity of Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, F.S.A. They correspond to M. Jameson's Nos. 9, 11, and 17; his No. 11 is from the same reverse die as our No. 14, and perhaps also from the same obverse; of the others it is not possible to judge.

In a note appended to M. Jameson's article is recorded the opinion of M. Svoronos, that the type of the obverse is not a pomegranate, as it was always supposed to be, but a quince; and Dr. A. B. Rendle, consulted on the question, agrees that the quince is a better identification than any other (such as lobed citron) which has been suggested.

IONIA.

16. *Obv.*—Pegasus with curved wing walking l.

Rev.—Two incuse squares side by side.

EL. \uparrow 14 mm. Wt. 72·5 grs. (4·70 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 1.] Specific gravity (approximately), 13·4; percentage of gold, according to Head's curve, 47·5. Presented by Mr. W. H. Buckler.

Of this rare coin, which belongs to some unidentified mint of the West Coast of Asia Minor, M. Babelon⁸ describes two other specimens, weighing 4 grs. 73 and 3 grs. 67. As thirds of the Milesian standard he assigns them to Southern Ionia or Caria. He associates with them the sixth in the British Museum with the forepart of Pegasus, but both by its style, and by the decorative treatment of the reverse, the smaller coin is shown to belong to a different category.

⁷ R. Jameson in *Rev. Num.*, 1909, pp. 188 ff.

⁸ *Traité*, II^e partie, p. 67, Nos. 71-72; Pl. ii. 25.

ΗΥΡΑΕΡΑ.

17. *Obv.*—ΑΥ ΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Undraped bust of Pius r., laureate. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΕΠΙΑ ΠΟ Μ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ around, ΒΤΤΑΠΤΗΝ|ΩΝ in exergue; temple showing four columns, with phiale in pediment; within, cultus-figure of Artemis Anaitis, veiled, and holding two phialae in her extended hands. Border of dots.

Æ. ↓ 30 mm. Wt. 244 grs. (15·81 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 2.] Presented by Mr. W. H. Buckler.

An unusually well-preserved specimen, from the same obverse die as *B. M. C.* 22. The type of the goddess does not bear the least resemblance to that of the Ephesian Artemis, with which it is the fashion to identify almost all primitive cultus-statues of goddesses represented on coins of Asia Minor and even Syria. The dress is an ordinary chiton with kolpos, such as would have been provided for a female figure by any artist of the sixth century B.C., in which period it is probable that most of the cultus-figures took the form in which they have come down to us.

ΝΥΣΑ.

18. *Obv.*—Cista mystica, with serpent issuing from it; all in ivy-wreath.

Rev.—Bow-case and bow between serpents; above, ΔΗ|ΙΕΡΕ|ΩΣ; on r. C, and small figure of Dionysos standing l. with grapes (?) and thyrsos.

Æ cistophorus, ↑ 28 mm. Wt. 160·4 grs. (10·39 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 4].

Similar to the Vienna specimen: Regling in *Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft* x. p. 73. The date is 129–8 B.C.

19. *Obv.*— - ΚΤΟΛΙΚΙΝΝ ΒΑΛΕΡ - - Bust of Valerian r. laureate; on the neck, uncertain countermark.

Rev.—ΕΠΦΜΑΥΡ Ι., ΛΑΙΑΝΟΥΝ r., ΥCΑΕΩΝ below.
Rudely made prize crown containing branches and inscribed ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ|ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙ|Κ Α

Æ. ↓ 34.5 mm. Wt. 227.2 grs. (14.72 grms.).

[Pl. VIII. 3.] Cp. Mionnet, iii. 372. 404;

Head, *B. M. C.*: *Lydia*, p. lxxxiii.

PHILADELPHIA AND SMYRNA.

20. *Obv.*— - ΑΙΜΑΥ Ι., ΠΗΚΟΜΟΔΟC r. Undraped bust of Commodus r., laureate.

Rev.—ΟΡΕCΤΕΙΝΟC Ι., - - ΕΛΦΚCΜΥΡ r., ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ in exergue. On l., Artemis r., wearing short chiton, r. taking arrow from quiver at shoulder, l. holding bow (?); on r., facing her, Nemesis (?) (details obscure).

Æ. ↓ 29 mm. Wt. 186.6 grs. (12.09 grms.).

Although poorly preserved this coin⁹ serves to correct the reading of the coin (Mionnet, *Suppl.*, vii. 403. 396), on which the supposition of the existence of a city Oresteion was based. See Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 720, No. 604, where the name of the magistrate Oresteinos is given as occurring on a quasi-autonomous coin.

21. CYPRUS.

The late Sir Robert Hamilton Lang presented 394 small Cypriote coins, being the remainder of the hoard contained in two small jars discovered by him at Dali in 1869.¹⁰ Few of the types are new to the Museum, but

⁹ Apparently the same specimen which is described rather differently from a paper impression by Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. Suisse*, 1913, p. 55. He thinks the goddess on the right may be Athena.

¹⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 1871, p. 17 f.

the acquisition of these remains of the hoard is valuable as illustrating the general appearance of the small silver currency of Cyprus towards the end of the fifth century B.C. The coins were all (with the exception of one stater) of small denominations, the heaviest being tetrobols of Azbaal I of Citium. This king (who came to the throne soon after 449) conquered Idalium, and since the only mints represented in the hoard are Citium, Amathus, Paphos, and Salamis, it would seem that the conquest resulted not only in the cessation of the independent Idalian coinage, but also in the calling in of such old coins of that mint as were current. Otherwise the hoard would probably have contained some tetrobols of Idalium. A study of the hoard serves to correct my dating of the small one-sided ram's head obols of Salamis (*B. M. C.: Cyprus*, Pl. ix. 7-9). The presence of fairly well-preserved specimens of these in a hoard which dates from the latter half of the fifth century, and which contains apparently no coins of the early fifth century, shows that these obols are not of the time of Euclithon, as I had supposed, but a good deal later.

LAPETHUS.

22. *Obv.*—BA on r., downwards; krater (kylix-form).

Rev.—ΓΡ on r., downwards; head of Apollo l., with short hair, laureate; concave field.

Æ. ↑ 15 mm. Wt. 36.9 grs. (2.39 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 5]. Presented by the late Lt.-Col.
R. Manifold Craig.

The coin is attributed to Praxippos, the king of Lapethus, who was deposed by Ptolemy in 313-2 B.C. See *B. M. C.: Cyprus*, p. liii f.

SELEUCUS I.

23. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., wearing lion-skin; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ r., downwards; Zeus aëtophoros seated l.; in field l. ΑΣΤ and monogram Μ (?) ; beneath throne Α; border of dots.

℞. ← 28 mm. Wt. 259·5 grs. (16·82 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 7.]

SELEUCUS III.

24. *Obv.*—Head of Seleucus III. r., with whisker, wearing diadem of which one end flies up; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., downwards; ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ l., downwards; Apollo, nude, seated l. on omphalos, resting l. on bow, holding arrow in r.; in field l. Ψ.

℞. ↑ 30 mm. Wt. 260·5 grs. (16·88 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 8]. The object in the field is doubtless meant for the monogram which occurs on *B. M. C.*, No. 1.

ANTIOCHUS III.

25. *Obv.*—Head of Antiochus r., wearing diadem with short ends, falling straight; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., downwards; ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ l., downwards; Apollo, nude, seated l. on omphalos, resting l. on bow, holding arrow in r.; in field l. Α, r. Μ; in exergue, humped bull charging l.

℞. ↑ 30·5 mm. Wt. 262 grs. (16·98 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 9.] From Aleppo.

Cp. Macdonald, *Hunter Catal.*, iii. p. 31, No. 7. The portrait is exactly the same as that on the British Museum stater catalogued under Antiochus III (*B. M. C.* :

Seleucid Kings, p. 25, No. 3), and the left-hand monogram also occurs on No. 7 of the same series.

TIMARCHUS.

26. *Obv.*—Head of Timarchus r., helmeted; fillet border.

Rev.—[ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ in arc above, ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ in exergue.

Æ. ← 29 mm. Wt. 256 grs. (16·59 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 10.]

This coin, which was procured in Persia, is the third known specimen of the tetradrachm of the usurper who ruled for a few months in Babylon in 162 B.C., having set himself up against Demetrius I; the others are that which was restruck by Demetrius I and Laodice with their own types (*B. M. C. : Seleucid Kings*, Pl. xv. 2) and that formerly in the E. F. Weber collection.¹¹ The gold stater and the silver drachm are even rarer, being represented by specimens, unique so far as we know, in the Berlin and London cabinets.

The types and the regal style (Βασιλέως Μεγάλου) are evidently inspired by the coins of Eucratides of Bactria. The tetradrachm shows signs of being re-struck over older types. The marks outside the fillet border above the head may possibly be the remains of spear-heads. Was a coin of Eucratides with the charging Dioscuri used by Timarchus as a blank?

TYRE.

27. *Obv.*—Dolphin r., over waves; above, Phœnician inscription, 𐤏𐤋 𐤍𐤕𐤕; border of dots.

¹¹ Hirsch, *Katal.* xxi. 4078. This and the new coin have different reverse dies, but the obverse die is possibly the same.

Rev.—Owl standing r., with flail and crooked sceptre ; incuse square.

R. ↖ 14 mm. Wt. 49·3 grs. (3·19 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 6.] From the Hirsch Sale, *Katal.*
xxxii. (1912), lot 587.

The inscription on a similar half-shekel has been read by Babelon,¹² *ma-hatsi ke[səph]*. But of the two signs which follow the denomination on the present specimen the first is clearly not a kaph, and the two together seem to represent a number, viz. 11. The gimel-shaped sign for 10 occurs on coins of Aradus, though not, so far as I know, elsewhere on Phoenician coins; but there was much variety in the numeral systems of this district. The inscription, therefore, seems to mean "half shekel of the eleventh year;" the era, of course, is uncertain.

HISPANO-CARTHAGINIAN.

28. *Obv.*—Head of Heracles l., beardless, laureate, with club over r. shoulder ; border of dots.

Rev.—Elephant walking r.; border of dots; concave field.

R. ↑ 26 mm. Wt. 172·3 grs. (11·16 grms.).
[Pl. VIII. 11.] From Feuardent's Sale, Hôtel
Drouot, 10 Juin, 1913, lot 360.

The tridrachm of the Barcid coinage of the mint of Carthago Nova was hitherto unrepresented in the British Museum. For the tetradrachm recently acquired, see *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 274.

G. F. HILL.

VI.

THE COINAGE OF THE CIVIL WARS OF 68-69 A.D.

(See Plates IX., X.)

THE present paper was originally read before the Royal Numismatic Society in October, 1913. The general plan remains the same, but some sections of purely descriptive matter have been omitted and some of the results have had to be altered in the light of further study.

The title indicates fairly accurately the scope of the essay; within it fall the "Autonomous" series, the coins of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the latest issues of Nero and the earliest of Vespasian. My main object is to fix the date and place of the various coinages; but I shall have to deal also on occasion with the meanings of types, when they are likely to throw light on the conditions of striking. The coinage of the Civil Wars of 68 to 69 A.D. offers many attractions to the numismatist. In the first place, it is full of variety and full of difficulty; in the second, it may teach us much about the imperial issues of the first century in general. So long as settled conditions prevail, there is often little to be known about them; it is when the break comes that we stand our best chance of catching glimpses of the old order, before it finally disappears. In the same way the numismatist may hope, from a study of the period of civil strife and chaos in 68 and 69 A.D., to throw some light on the Julio-Claudian period that precedes and on the Flavian that follows it.

The aids to study are comparatively rich. Our chief literary authority is the *Histories* of Tacitus; we can supplement him by Plutarch's *Lives* of Galba and Otho, Suetonius's *Lives* of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, and the fragments of the history of Dio Cassius. Secondly, we have the coins themselves. Considerations of style and fabric will lead us to arrange them in certain groups; a study of types and legends will help us to check our arrangement. Having classified our coins, we have next to apply history to our classification, in order to give to our numismatic researches their proper historical meaning. One class of evidence—the evidence of finds—is, unfortunately, of little use for our purpose. I have not been able to hear of a single find that really throws much light on our period¹: the most I have been able to discover is the provenance of a few isolated coins. If any reader of this paper can call my attention to any evidence of this sort that I have missed, I shall be sincerely grateful. Comparatively little has been written on the subject by modern numismatists; but there are a few excellent monographs on portions of it, to which I shall refer in the proper places.

It will be well to start with a brief survey of the coinage at the death of Nero. The dated series of aurei and denarii comes to a close in the year 62-63; from then to the end of the reign the coins are undated and show the obverse inscriptions NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS, IMP. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS and IMP. NERO

¹ Just after writing this, I read the account of an interesting find, extending from Republican times to the reign of Vespasian and containing nine "autonomous" coins, described in the *Berliner Münzblätter*, No. 150-151, 112 ff. This find confirms the dating of the series, but hardly assists us in placing the different issues.

CAESAR AVG. P.P. The reverse types, too, change in the same year; new reverses, such as AVGVSTVS AVGVSTA, CONCORDIA, IVPPITER CVSTOS, ROMA, SALVS, and VESTA, replace the standing figures of Mars, Roma, and Ceres, and the formula EX S. C., regular on the earlier series, disappears. The undated series cannot be arranged with certainty, and, indeed, it is probable that the same types were coined over a number of years. It is, however, fairly certain that the obverse legend IMP. NERO CAESAR AVG. P.P. is characteristic of the end of the reign. It does not occur with the temple of Janus reverse, which may be dated to about 64: therefore it can hardly come at the head of the series. It, alone of the three obverse legends, occurs with the three types of IVPPITER LIBERATOR, ROMA (seated figure, legend in field) and Eagle and Standards: it is, therefore, unlikely to occur in the middle of the series, and must come at the end. The Eagle and Standards is probably the last type of the reign: it might be connected with the eastern expedition projected by Nero, but more probably it refers to his warlike preparations against the rebel Vindex. The brass coinage of Nero offers some difficult problems, on which I can only just touch here; I will merely mention what seems important for our present purpose. The great bulk of these coins bear no date; those that are dated fall between the years 64-67. It is probable that nearly the whole of the series belongs to the period between 62-63 and 68. This view involves some difficulties in the explanation of reverse types, but has very strong support in the coins themselves; the imperial portrait on the brass practically never shows any likeness to that on the dated aurei and denarii of the years down to

62-63, but constantly to that on those of the later period. The brass of Nero was issued from two mints, one, of course, the mint of Rome, the other a mint that distinguishes its products by a small globe placed under the neck, as also by peculiarities of obverse legend and portrait. R. Mowat, noticing these points some years ago, suggested Lugdunum as the place of issue,² and I think we may accept his suggestion, though we cannot suppose with him that the small globe is the peculiar mint-mark of Lugdunum; it certainly occurs also on coins struck in Spain. If, however, as seems reasonable, we think of this new series as being, in a sense, a continuation of the coinage of the early emperors at Lugdunum, we may still regard his attribution as extremely probable. I would also attribute some of the aurei and denarii of Nero's later period to this mint.³

The way is now clear for the discussion of the coins of our special period. We start with the so-called "Autonomous" series, denarii and a few aurei, without name or head of any emperor, usually expressing in their types republican or military sentiments. Excellent pioneer work in this field was done many years ago by the Duc de Blacas,⁴ and much that he wrote then holds good to-day; on a few points, however, I am bound to disagree with his results. There is no serious doubt that these coins belong to the years 68 and 69 A.D.; for

(1) The weights are, mainly, those of the reduced aureus and denarius of Nero.

² See *R. N.*, 1895, p. 160 ff.

³ On the interesting question of the imperial mint of Lugdunum, see L. Laffranchi in *Riv. Ital.*, 1913, 303 ff.

⁴ See *R. N.*, 1862, 197 ff.

(2) The types show the closest relations with those of Nero, Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

(3) The whole character of the series is well suited to the chaotic conditions of these years.

Eckhel proposed to place a number of these coins in the reign of Augustus; for instance, he very plausibly assigned the coin with *obv.* MARS VLTOR, *rev.* SIGNA P. R. to the year 20 B.C., seeing in it a clear reference to the restoration of Roman standards by the Parthians. But this ingenious explanation takes no account of other coins, with which the MARS VLTOR coin has undoubted connexions, and must therefore be abandoned. The Duc de Blacas suggested that these coins should be assigned to Rome, Gaul, and Spain. I accept his attributions to Gaul and Spain, but cannot believe that any part of the series was struck at Rome. The decisive objection seems to me to be this: if issued by the Senate, the coins should bear some sign of its authority—for example, the letters S.C. As a matter of fact, we find that this is not the case. The few coins on which S.C. does occur cannot, on account of their style and fabric, possibly belong to Rome. The S.P.Q.R. in a wreath, which is a common reverse type, alternates with other reverses which omit all mention of the Senate. The Duc de Blacas quotes, in support of his view, a passage of Tacitus, “*patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem novum et absentem;*”⁵ but I can hardly believe that the Senate could have dared to usurp the right of coinage and deliberately omit all reference to the emperor, whom it had itself adopted. On this point we must be quite clear; there

⁵ Tac., *H.*, I. 4.

was, strictly speaking, no interregnum at Rome in 68; the same meeting of the Senate that deposed Nero bestowed the imperial office on Galba. If, then, the Senate struck "Autonomous" coins, it did so in defiance of an acknowledged emperor; and this is really an impossible hypothesis. It was only in the provinces that there was something like an interregnum, *i.e.* a period of uncertainty, during which men felt that the power of Nero was over, yet did not know his successor and could not tell to whom their allegiance was due. At Corinth, for example, between the series of Nero and Galba occur coins without any emperor's name and with such legends as SENATV P.Q.R. and ROMAE ET IMPERIO.⁶

The "Autonomous" coins fall into three large classes, fairly clearly divided from one another. The first of these classes I assign to Spain, the second to Gaul, and the third to Gaul or Upper Germany.

A. *The Spanish Class.* *N, R.*—The coins composing this class are connected by similarity of types and, to some extent, of style; but minor distinctions of style suggest a further subdivision into three sections:—

(a) *N, R.* Coins of the following types: GENIO P.R., *Rev.* MARTI VLTORI; BON. EVENT., *Rev.* PACI P.R. [PL. IX. 2]; LIBERTAS, *Rev.* P.R. RESTITVTA; LIBERTAS RESTITVTA, *Rev.* S.P.Q.R. on shield; DIVVS AVGVSTVS, *Rev.* SENATVS P.Q. ROMANVS; ROMA, *Rev.* PAX P.R.; MONETA, *Rev.* SALVTARIS;⁷ and a very interesting coin in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans:

⁶ See Earle Fox, *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, 1899, 89 ff.

⁷ These lists make no pretence of being exhaustive: I have picked out a number of prominent types of each mint. Since I am not dealing with the types in close detail, I have quoted them in the briefest possible form.

Obv.—HISPANIARVM ET GALLIARVM. Two small busts facing ; between them a small Victory on a globe ; above her, a star in a crescent ; below the busts, r. a shield, l. a trumpet.

Rev.—VICTORIA P.R. Victory in biga r., drawing her bow.

For coins of Galba from the same mint see below, p. 123.

(b) *R.* Coins of the types BON. EVENT., *Rev.* ROM. RENASC. [Pl. IX. 1] and BON. EVENT., *Rev.* ROMA RENASCES.

(c) A gold coin of the types BONI EVENTVS, *Rev.* VIRTVS, weighing 122 grs. I assign this coin to Tar-raco, the chief Spanish mint of Galba. (See below, p. 121 ff.) Its place there is determined (i.) by its exceptional weight—a feature which recurs in aurei of Galba of this mint ; (ii.) by very close similarity of style to Galba's issue.

Sections (a) and (b) are probably the issues of two other Spanish mints ; it is impossible to fix names to them, though Clunia might be suggested for one. I suppose these coins to have been struck by Galba in Spain between April 6 and early June, 68 A.D., *i.e.* between the dates of his acceptance of the offer of Empire from Vindex and of his receiving news of his recognition by the Senate. As we shall see later, they show clear traces of connexion with other "autonomous" coins, which I attribute to Gaul, and with coins, bearing Galba's portrait, which I attribute to Spain.

B. *The Gallic Class.* *N, R.*—A large class, which seems to form, in a sense, one single whole, although differences of style suggest that further subdivision may be required. To this class belong ROMA RESTITVTA, *Rev.* IVPPITER

LIBERATOR; VIRT., *Rev.* IVPPITER CVSTOS [Pl. IX. 16]; VOLKANVS VLTOR, *Rev.* GENIO P.R.; ROMA RESTITVTA, *Rev.* IVPPITER CONSERVATOR; GENIVS P.R., *Rev.* MARS VLTOR; VOLKANVS VLTOR, *Rev.* SIGNA P.R.; MARS VLTOR, *Rev.* SIGNA P.R. [Pl. IX. 17]; SALVS ET LIBERTAS, *Rev.* SIGNA P.R.; SALVS GENERIS HVMANI, *Rev.* SIGNA P.R.; and, with *Rev.* S.P.Q.R. in wreath, the following obverses: GENIVS P.R., MARS VLTOR (bust), MARS VLTOR (standing figure), PAX ET LIBERTAS, SALVS ET LIBERTAS, and SALVS GENERIS HVMANI [Pl. IX. 18].

There are several points to notice :

(1) The occurrence of the same types in various combinations, marking a relationship between the coins on which they occur.

(2) A certain resemblance to the Spanish classes. Compare, *e.g.*, the types ROMA RENASCENS (Spanish), ROMA RESTITVTA (Gallic), GENIO P.R. (Sp.), GENIVS P.R. (G.), S.P.Q.R. on shield (Sp.), S.P.Q.R. in wreath (G.).

(3) The connexion with coins of Nero. Note the types IVPPITER CVSTOS and IVPPITER LIBERATOR, both used by Nero, and compare the type, SIGNA P.R. with eagle and standards, with Nero's similar uninscribed type.

These coins certainly form a single group; but they display no absolute uniformity of style, and it seems possible, or rather probable, that they are the product of more than one mint. We can hardly be wrong, I think, in assigning them to the revolt of Vindex in Gaul; the appeals to republican and military sentiment and the constant references to the Senate and people of Rome fit in admirably with this hypothesis. If we must suggest a place, Augustodunum, the capital town of the canton of the Remi, who were among the most ardent supporters of Vindex, might be considered.

Evidence of finds to confirm our attribution would be very welcome; hitherto I have only been able to hear of single specimens found in Gaul and Britain.

To this Gallic class may be appended a series of countermarked brass coins of Nero. They are all dupondii and asses and, so far as I have observed, belong without exception to the class, distinguished by portrait, legend, and small globe under the neck, which are assigned to Lugdunum (see above, p. 113). The countermarks found on them are P.R. (Fig. 1), S.P.Q.R. and VC (VESPA). The last of the three is undoubtedly the mark of Vespasian; what of the P.R. and the S.P.Q.R.? Can any better explanation be suggested than that these coins, circulating in Gaul, were so countermarked by the adherents of Vindex and thus form a series of brass, corresponding to the gold and silver described above?

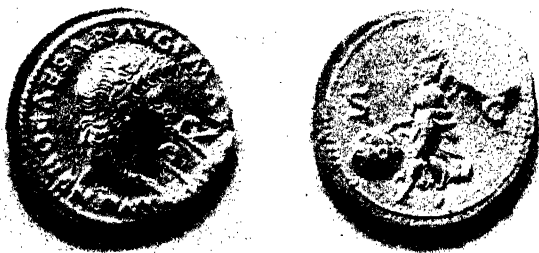


FIG. 1.—As of Nero, countermarked on obverse P.R.

A third class of "Autonomous" coins, which I attribute to Upper Germany or Gaul, will be found described below (see p. 129 f.).

Before passing on to the coinage of Galba, we must pause for a moment over that of Clodius Macer in Africa. This man, who was "legatus Augusti pro praetore" of the legio III Augusta in Numidia, renounced his loyalty

to Nero in the spring of 68 A.D.; he refused, however, to associate himself with Vindex and Galba and professed allegiance only to the Senate. Even after the death of Nero he still refused to acknowledge Galba; he raised a new legion, the legio I Macriana Liberatrix, and auxiliary cohorts, and threatened the corn supply of Rome. However, before he could do much mischief, he was put to death, on Galba's orders, by the procurator Trebonius Garrutianus. His troops evidently left him in the lurch. For a detailed account of his coins I will refer to an excellent monograph by R. Mowat;⁸ here I will only call attention to a few important points:—

(1) The formula S.C. which appears regularly on all his coins.

(2) The title PROPRAE(TOR) AFRICAE, assumed by him, apparently as a Republican equivalent for his official title of "legatus Augusti pro praetore."

(3) The imitation of Mark Antony's legionary types—galley and standards.

One denarius requires a little further attention:

Obv.—L. CLODI MACRI CARTHAGO S.C. Draped bust of turreted female, r.; behind, a cornucopiae.

Rev.—SICILIA. A triskelis with a Medusa head for centre.
[Pl. IX. 10.]

How can we explain the types? Macer certainly never held Sicily; did he succeed in winning Carthage? It is impossible to say with certainty, as Tacitus and our other authorities give us the briefest of accounts of his fall. But it is rather probable that he did; there were certainly no troops in the province of Africa capable of resisting him, and an invasion of that province

⁸ In *Riv. Ital.*, 1902, 165 ff.

from Numidia would be his first step, when he had decided to hold out against Galba.

We now come to the large and varied coinage of Galba himself and to the problems that arise over its classification. We shall have to take account of varieties of style and fabric, of legend and of portrait; a careful study of these may help us to class the coins, and we can then check our system by a comparison with other nearly contemporary issues. We start with a group of denarii, presumably the earliest of the reign, which show as obverse type a figure of Galba, riding right or left: the accompanying legends are either (1) GALBA IMP. or (2) SER. GALBA IMP. and SER. GALBA IMP. AVG.

(1) With GALBA IMP. *Rev.* HISPANIA (small draped bust, r., with spears, shield, and ears of corn) [Pl. IX. 4]. Probably from the mint of Tarraco (cp. above, p. 116, and below, p. 121 ff.). I have noted two small varieties of style, but both may belong to the same mint.

(2) With SER. GALBA IMP., &c. (The legend SERVI. GALBA IMP. occurs with the *rev.* ROMA RENASCENS [Pl. IX. 19]). The reverses are HISPANIA (small draped bust, r., with spears, shield, and ears of corn), GALLIA (bust, r.), TRES GALLIAE (three small busts, r.), VIRTUS (bust, r.).

The reverse types practically prove that these coins belong to a Gallic mint—probably, I think, the mint, or mints, which issued the autonomous coins described above, p. 116 ff. (cp. too p. 123, below).⁹ Mowat confidently assigns the "TRES GALLIAE" type to Lugdunum; but

(1) The globe below the neck is certainly not, as he assumes, the mark of one mint only;

⁹ This suggestion is based largely on considerations of style.

(2) Coins of very different style and fabric may be assigned, for really strong reasons, to Lugdunum, leaving no place there for these.

We proceed to the coins of Galba that bear his portrait.

A. Spain.

1. Mint of Tarraco. N, R.

Two series, with obverse legends (1) GALBA IMP. (2) GALBA IMPERATOR. Although to some extent distinct in style, the two series may belong to the same mint. If not, I would assign (2) to Tarraco, (1) to another mint in Spain. The chief reverse types found in these classes are CONCORDIA PROVINCIIARVM, DIVA AVGVSTA, GALLIA HISPANIA, HISPANIA, LIBERTAS PVBLICA, ROMA RENASC. [Pl. IX. 6], ROMA RENASCENS [Pl. IX. 5], ROMA VICTRIX, S.P.Q.R., VIRTVS. (3) A series of coins, with obverse legend SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG. P.M. TR. P., and reverses ROMA RENASC., ROMA VICTRIX, S.P.Q.R. OB. C.S., VIRTVS [Pl. IX. 7], is clearly marked out by style as a later continuation of the same mint. It is a curious fact that aurei of series (2) and (3) always weigh about 118 grains, *i.e.* the weight of the un-reduced aureus.¹⁰

Why should this class of coins be assigned to Tarraco? The reasons are fairly convincing. We find coins of Vitellius and Vespasian, which unmistakably belong to the same mint. Now, as Otho must have struck at Rome, his coins show us the style and fabric of the Roman mint, and we can thus detect the *Roman* coins of Vitellius; another class of coins of Vitellius seems to belong to Lugdunum. The only probable place for a third mint common to Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian is

¹⁰ I have not been able to learn the weight of any aureus of series (1).

somewhere in Spain. Further, a coin of Vespasian and a coin of Divus Augustus, both of this mint, bear the *Rev.* HISPANIA, and an as of Vitellius, apparently of similar style, has the *Rev.* CONSENSVS HISPANIARVM. We know, too, that Galba struck gold and silver in Spain,¹¹ and we expect his Spanish mint to be, as this is, a prominent one. The mint then being certainly Spanish, Tarraco, the capital of the province of Tarraconensis, is the natural place to think of.

The next question is that of the date of these coins, a question which we can best answer by taking it in a more general form. To what period do those coins belong on which Galba bears the title of IMPERATOR, but not of CAESAR or AVGVSTVS? Suetonius (*Galba*, 10) tells us that "Galba was hailed emperor by his troops, but declared himself the legate of the Senate and people of Rome;" and Dio Cassius (lxxiii. 29. 6) informs us that Galba only took the title of Caesar on hearing of his recognition by the Senate, and would not even accept the title of emperor on any public document before that date. Plutarch (*Galba* 20) leads us to suppose that Galba struck coins very soon after his acceptance of Vindex's offer of the Empire. After much consideration I think we must accept Dio's statement as applying to the coins and must therefore date all the coins that give Galba the title of IMPERATOR to the period immediately following early June, when he received news of the fall of Nero. The only coinage of Galba, prior to that date, will be the "autonomous" pieces, which we assigned to Spain (see above, p. 115 f.). One might have expected that Vindex and his supporters would have placed the name of Galba on their coins.

¹¹ Cp. Plut., *Galba*, 20.

It is, perhaps, just possible that some of the coins of Galba, assignable to Gaul, may belong to them; they may not have respected his objection to the title of IMPERATOR. More probably, the end of the movement of Vindex, coming quite soon after the elevation of Galba to the Empire, prevented the starting of a new coinage. The adoption of the full imperial title, IMP. . . . CAESAR AVGVSTVS P.M. TR. P. by Galba probably dates from early July, when he met the envoys of the Senate at Narbo.¹²

(2) *Uncertain mint*, the same as that of "Autonomous," Spanish, class A above (see p. 115), \mathcal{R} .

Obverse legend GALBA IMPERATOR. *Rev.* LIBERTAS RESTITVTA (head, r.), LIBERTAS RESTITVTA (standing figure), VICTORIA P.R., VIRTVS [Pl. IX. 3], BON. EVENT., GALLIA HISPANIA. It is the style, and particularly the lettering, that leads us to associate these coins with the above-mentioned "autonomous" series.

B. *Gaul.*

(1) \mathcal{R} .—Coins with *Obv.* SER. GALBA IMP. and SER. GALBA IMPERATOR and *Rev.* VICTORIA P.R. and VIRTVS [Pl. X. 1], probably from the same mint as "Autonomous" Gallic (1), and the horseman type of Galba (2), above (see p. 116 and p. 120). The place may possibly be Augustodunum.

(2) \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{R} .—Coins with *Obv.* SER. GALBA IMPERATOR, clearly distinct in style from (1). Coins of the same style show also the legend SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG. P.M. TR. P. The reverse types in this class are CONCORDIA PROVINCIA RV M, VICTORIA P.R. [Pl. IX. 14], and VICTORIA GALBAE AVG. The mint may be Narbo (see below, p. 128).

(3) Mint of Lugdunum. \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{R} .—Obverse legend SER. SVLPICIVS GALBA (with AVG. IMP. on reverse) and, more

¹² Suet., *Galba*, 11.

commonly, IMP. GALBA CAESAR AVG. P.P.; chief reverse types AEQVITAS AVG., FORTVNA AVG. [Pl. X. 3], PAX. AVG. The style is curious and the lettering is particularly distinctive; we may note especially the form X for A.

There are several reasons for assigning these coins to Lugdunum:

(a) We find coins of Nero, Vitellius, and Vespasian of unmistakably similar style. We can fix with some confidence the issues of Vitellius at Rome and Tarraco; his one remaining issue must, practically speaking, have been in Gaul, and Lugdunum is the only Gallic mint that could well have been common to Nero, Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

(b) The title IMP. . . . CAESAR AVG. P.P. was the latest in use on Nero's coins. If, as I suppose, there was an imperial mint at Lugdunum, it would naturally carry over the old imperial title to the new Emperor.

There is also a small class of denarii with *Obv.* GALBA IMP., *Rev.* CONCORDIA PROVINCIA RV M [Pl. X. 2], which seem to belong to Lugdunum; they show very great likeness of portrait to brass coins, which, for other reasons, must be assigned to Lugdunum (see below, p. 127). The difficulty is that the style of these pieces is not exactly that of the coins just above described; but, as the reasons for attribution seem sound in both cases, I class the two series together.¹³

C. *Africa.*

To this province I assign a small class of denarii, distinguished mainly by bearing the letters S.C.:

¹³ One might suppose that Lugdunum had two mints—an imperial for gold and silver, a senatorial for copper, working independently; in this case, the former class here might be the product of the imperial mint, the latter an exceptional silver issue of the senatorial.

1. *Obv.*—HISPANIA S.C. Draped bust of Hispania, r.; behind, two spears; below, small round shield; in front, two ears of corn.

Rev.—A shield lying on two crossed spears; in the angles formed by the spears, S.P.Q.R.

[Pl. IX. 11.]

2. *Obv.*—SER. SVLPICIVS GALBA IMP. AVG. Type similar to no. 1.

Rev.—Similar to no. 1. [Pl. IX. 12.]

3. *Obv.*—SER. SVLPICI GALBAE IMP. A. Type similar to no. 1.

Rev.—Similar to no. 1.

4. *Obv.*—SER. GALBA IMP. AVG. Head of Galba, laureate, r.; small globe under neck.

Rev.—VICTORIA P.R. S.C. Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath and palm. [Pl. IX. 13.]

I assign this class to Africa and date it to the latter half of June, 68. Note the following points:—

(1) S.C. appears as on the coins of Macer.

(2) There is some similarity of style and lettering between these coins and those of Macer.

(3) The unusual genitives in the obverse inscriptions, SER. SVLPICI GALBAE and L. CLODI MACRI.

(4) These coins are quite unlike the classes assigned to Gaul and Spain. If they stand apart from these groups, Africa is one of the few remaining places where they could have been struck.

If our suggestion is correct, we shall have to assume that they were struck by friends of Galba, probably at Carthage, in direct protest against Macer's hostile attitude. If Macer, as I believe, seized Carthage, he must have interrupted this issue to strike his own coins;

then, on the overthrow of Macer, the coins with *Rev.* VICTORIA P.R., presumably the last of the series, would be struck.

D. *Rome.* N, R.

To this mint may be assigned a very large number of coins, showing some seven or more distinct portraits and the *obv.* legends SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG., IMP. SER. GALBA AVG., IMP. SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG. (or AVG. P.M.), and, very rarely, GALBA IMP. The favourite reverses are DIVA AVGVSTA [Pl. X. 12], HISPANIA, ROMA RENASC., SALVS GENERIS HYMANI, S.P.Q.R. OB. C.S. in wreath [Pl. X. 10], VICTORIA P.R. [Pl. X. 11].

The head is usually laureate, but is occasionally found bare, notably on the fine coins with *Obv.* IMP. SER. GALBA AVG. *Rev.* S.P.Q.R. OB. C.S. The series will date from June 6, 68, the day of Galba's accession at Rome, to January 15, 69, the day of his murder. Of the obverse legends GALBA IMP. will naturally be placed earliest; IMP. SER. GALBA AVG. must follow, for it occurs with practically the same portrait as does GALBA IMP.; SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG. probably comes next, and then IMP. SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG. closes the list. Perhaps something further in the way of arrangement remains to be done here; but my present plan will not allow me to attempt greater detail. In spite of all varieties of legend and portrait, I think we must treat this class as a single whole. The general style, especially in the lettering, is remarkably uniform throughout and undoubtedly corresponds to that of the coins of Otho, which must have been struck at Rome.¹⁴

¹⁴ Count de Salis, who arranged the British Museum Series with great skill and judgment, assigned a part of this group to Gaul; but I can find no reason for his classification.

This completes our survey of the gold and silver coins of Galba, and we come now to his brass. We have seen above (p. 113) that Nero struck brass at two mints, (a) Rome, (b) Lugdunum. There is practically no doubt that Galba did the same. We can pick out a series, marked by a distinctive portrait, frequently with the small globe under the neck, which would correspond well to Nero's Gallic series. Further, a number of coins (Fig. 2) of this class bear, as an adjunct to the reverse legend, the letters R. XL. (*Remissa Quadragensima*), which very probably refers to the famous customs-duty, the



FIG. 2.—Sestertius of Galba, with R. XL. on reverse.

"*Quadragensima Galliarum*."¹⁵ We know for a fact that Galba did remit certain Gallic taxes; whilst, on the other hand, if the reference is not to this tax, we have to invent a meaning for the phrase, by supposing the remission of some tax, called "*quadragensima*," at Rome. The rest of the brass coins of Galba are presumably to be referred to Rome, with the exception of a few second brass, which show a style very similar to that of Tarraco and probably belong to that mint. The many obverse legends are bewilderingly difficult to

¹⁵ See Mowat, *R. N.*, 1895, 160 f.

class; I suggest, for the Roman mint, the following sequence:—

(1) SER. SVLPI. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG.

(2) SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG.

(3) IMP. SER. GALBA AVG. TR. P.

(4) IMP. SER. SVLP. GALBA CAESAR AVG.

(5) IMP. SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG.¹⁰

Lugdunum apparently has only two varieties of legend:—

(1) SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG.

(2) IMP. SER. GALBA AVGVSTVS.

After the intricacies of Galba's coinage that of Otho is quite refreshing in its simplicity. Otho issued gold and silver from the mint of Rome, with the obverse legend IMP. OTHO (or M. OTHO) CAESAR AVG. TR. P., and *Rev.* PAX ORBIS TERRARVM [Pl. X. 13], PONT. MAX. (with several different types), SECVRITAS P.R., and VICTORIA OTHONIS. But one aureus in the British Museum belongs to some other mint. It has

Obv.—IMP. OTHO CAESAR AVG. TR. P. Head of Otho, bare, r.

Rev.—PONT. [MAX.] Vesta seated l. [Pl. IX. 15.]

The style is quite distinct from that of the ordinary series, and the weight, 117·4 grs., is equally unusual. If we look for a likeness to this coin in the series of Galba, we shall find it among coins which we have attributed to the mint of Narbo (see above, p. 123); as an aureus of Galba of this class weighs 116·2 grs., we may regard the weight as a further indication of relationship between the coins. If then we have here a mint, other than Rome, common to Galba and Otho, Narbo is a very probable suggestion;

¹⁰ I leave minor varieties out of account.

the province of Narbonensis originally declared for Otho against Vitellius, but soon threw in its lot with the German armies. The only trouble then is that we might have expected coins of Vitellius from the same mint; but this negative objection can hardly be allowed much weight.

Otho, as every schoolboy knows, is unrepresented in the series of Roman brass. The fact is undoubted; no coin with any serious claim to genuineness has ever yet appeared. But the reason usually assigned, that the Senate did not recognize Otho as Emperor, is demonstrably false.¹⁷ The fact is, we do not know the precise reason of his lack of brass coinage. It has clearly something to do with the very short period of Otho's stay as Emperor in Rome; probably the Senate, which certainly had no love for Otho, discovered some colourable pretext for holding back the new issue for a time.

Next in order comes a third series of "Autonomous" coins already referred to above (see p. 118).

C. *Class of Upper Germany*.—Denarii, many of them plated and of very rude fabric, showing the following combinations of types:—

FIDES EXERCITVVM, *Rev.* FIDES EXERCITVVM; FIDES EXERCITVVM, *Rev.* FIDES PRAETORIANORVM [Pl. X. 8]; FIDES EXERCITVVM, *Rev.* CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM; VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM (bust), *Rev.* FIDES EXERCITVVM; VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM (bust), *Rev.* I.O.M. CAPITOLINVS (seated figure) [Pl. X. 7]; VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM (bust), *Rev.* SENATVS P.Q. ROMANVS; I.O.M. CAPITOLINVS (bust), *Rev.* VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM (seated figure); DIVVS AVGVSTVS, *Rev.* SENATVS P.Q. ROMANVS.

¹⁷ Cp. Tac., *H.*, I. 47.

We notice

(1) the interlinking of types ;

(2) the predominant military sentiment ;

(3) the close connexion with the coinage of Vitellius, who himself uses the types FIDES EXERCITVVM, CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM, FIDES PRAETORIANORVM, I.O.M. CAPITOLINVS (seated figure), SENATVSP Q. ROMANVS, VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM (seated figure).

It is certain, then, that these coins form a single group and stand in close relation to the revolt of the troops in the Germanies, which raised Vitellius to the throne. But it is difficult to fix either time or place with absolute precision. The coins seem to belong to the period of the revolt of the legions in Upper Germany, before the legions of Lower Germany had declared Vitellius Emperor. Yet the interval here was one of a very few days (January 1 to 3, 69), a very short time allowance for our coinage. It is perhaps possible that, as the rebellion had been some time in planning, preparations for a coinage were already well advanced, when the revolt actually broke out. Where then were the coins struck? Some specimens show a style approximating to that of Lugdunum; others are very rough and crude. On the whole, it seems most probable that the coins were struck in Upper Germany, presumably at the military headquarters at Mogontiacum. The references to the praetorians are explained by a passage in Suetonius (*Galba*, 16), "sed maxime fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus, fraudari se praemio navatae adversus Gallos et Vindicem operae. Ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi Kal. Jan. adigi sacramento nisi in nomen senatus recusarunt, statimque legationes ad praetorianos cum

mandatis destinaverunt: displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum; eligerent ipsi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent." The frequently recurring type of two clasped hands is illustrated by a passage in Tacitus (*Histories*, I. 54), "Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne."¹⁸

The study of this last class brings us naturally to the coins of Vitellius. After our earlier discussions classification here is a simple matter.

A. *Spain*. Mint of Tarraco. *N*, *R*. *Obv.* legend, A. VITELLIVS IMP. GERMAN. or GERMANICVS. Head, laureate, usually l. (occasionally r.). Sometimes there is a small branch in front of the neck.

Rev. types, CLEMENTIA IMP. GERMANICI, CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM, FIDES EXERCITVVM, L. VITELLI III COS. CENS., LIBERI IMP. GERMANICI, LIBERTAS RESTITVTA [Pl. IX. 8], VICTORIA AVGVSTI, VICTORIA IMP. GERMANICI. The *rev.* I.O.M. CAPITOLINVS and VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM do not occur here.

A few asses (Fig. 3) of rough fabric, with the *rev.* CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM, FIDES EXERCITVVM, show a



FIG. 3.—As of Vitellius.

similar portrait to the gold and silver and may be assigned with some confidence to this mint. The date

¹⁸ Cp. too Tac., *H.*, II. 8.

of the issue will be from early January to early July, 69; it was not till his arrival in Rome in July that Vitellius adopted the title of Augustus. Style and fabric clearly mark these coins as the issue of that mint which, as we decided above, must be Tarraco.

B. Gaul. Mint of Lugdunum. *N, R.* Obverse legend, A. VITELLIVS IMP. GERMAN. Head, laureate, r. The style marks these coins as belonging to the same mint as that which we decided above to be Lugdunum.

Rev. types, CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM, FIDES EXERCITVVM, I.O.M. CAPITOLINVS, LIBERI IMP. GERMANICI, VESTA P.R. QVIRITIVM [Pl. X. 4]. The date will be the same as for the issues of Tarraco above; but probably this mint started coining for Vitellius rather earlier than that. A few coins belong to a date after early July; cp. the aureus in the British Museum, A. VITELLIVS GER. IMP. AVG. P. MAX. TR. P., *rev.* CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM [Pl. X. 5].

C. Rome. *N, R.*

(1) Without title of AVGVSTVS. Obverse legend, A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. TR. P. (*a*) head, bare, r.; (*b*) head, laureate, r.; date, April 19, to early July, 69.

(2) With title of AVGVSTVS. Obverse legend as above; head, laureate, r.

Reverse types of the Roman mint, CONCORDIA P.R. [Pl. X. 14], IVPPITER VICTOR, LIBERTAS RESTITVTA, LIBERI IMP. GERMANICI, L. VITELLIVS COS. III CENSOR (bust, and seated figure), PONT. MAXIM [Pl. X. 15], XVIR. SACR. FAC., Victory seated l. (uninscribed).

The *Rev.* FIDES EXERCITVVM occurs only with (1) (*a*).

The brass of Vitellius, apart from the few asses mentioned above, belongs entirely to the mint of Rome. The portrait is fairly uniform, but there are a number of

small varieties of legend. As all the coins bear the imperial title of AVGVSTVS, they are all later than early July, 69, when Vitellius on his entry into Rome adopted that title.

Rev. types, CERES AVG., L. VITELLIVS COS. III CENSOR, MARS VICTOR, PAX AVGVSTI, S.C. (Mars, r.), VICTORIA AVGVSTI.

A few coins may, with high probability, be assigned to the Gallic revolt against Rome in 69-70. I will describe the few specimens that seem to me to belong here:

1. *Obv.*—GALLIA. Bust of Gallia, draped, with hair in roll, torque round neck, r.; behind head, a Gallic trumpet.

Rev.—FIDES. Two clasped hands holding two ears of corn and a standard surmounted by a wild boar. *Æ.*

In the Haeberlin collection.¹⁹

2. *Obv.*—LIBERTAS RESTITVTA. Bust of Libertas, draped, veiled and diademed, r.; in front of bust, a corn-ear.

Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concordia seated l., holding in r. hand a spear, surmounted by a boar, and in l. hand a caduceus. *Æ.*

3. *Obv.*—Similar to 2.

Rev.—MARS ADSERTOR. Mars standing facing, looking r., holding standard and shield. *Æ.*

4. *Obv.*—Similar to 2.

Rev.—Similar to 3. But Mars holds trophy and shield. *Æ.*

5. *Obv.*—Similar to 2.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR. Mars standing r., holding standard and shield. *Æ.*

¹⁹ See M. Hermann, *Eine Gallische Unabhängigkeitsmünze aus römischer Kaiserzeit.*

6. *Obv.*—SALVTIS. Head of Salus, diademed, r.

Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concordia standing l., holding an olive-branch and a cornucopiae. *N.*

The wild boar on the reverses of (1) and (2) was the national emblem of Gaul.²⁰ The appeals are all to the love of liberty and to martial spirit and there is a total absence of reference to the Senate, people, or armies of Rome. These coins, then, form a group somewhat apart from any other and probably belong to the Gallic revolt. The date will be from January to late in 70; the place can hardly be ascertained, but would probably be in Upper or Lower Germany.

A remarkably interesting denarius in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans seems to require a place by itself. Its description is as follows:—

Obv.—ADSSERTOR LIBERTATIS. Head of Mars (?) helmeted, r.

Rev.—LEGION. XV. PRIMIGEN[?]. Victory standing r., erecting a trophy, consisting of a cuirass, a round and an oblong shield and a pair of greaves.²¹ [Pl. X. 9.]

If types mean anything, this coin has some special connexion with the legio XV Primigeneia. During the whole of our period it was stationed at Vetera in Lower Germany. Its companion legion, the V Alauda, and a detachment of itself marched with Valens to Italy; the main body of the XVth stayed at Vetera

²⁰ See Hermann, quoted above, n. 19.

²¹ I am deeply indebted to Sir Arthur Evans for permission to publish this and other of his coins. The trophy has been described as Celtiberian, but I have the authority of Mr. Horace Sandars for stating that there is nothing distinctively Celtiberian about it.

and was besieged there by Civilis during the German revolt. I would attribute this coin, then, to Vetera, during its siege by the Germans. How are we to account for the omission of all reference to an Emperor? Tacitus (*H.*, IV. 37) will supply the clue; he tells us "*Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum iam Vitellius occidisset,*" *i.e.* the troops, after having accepted Vespasian, once more returned to their old allegiance to Vitellius, not knowing him to be dead. What did they do when the news of his death arrived? Having no allegiance left to which to turn they must have based their last hopes on their own valour and on their patron god of war.

The coinage of Vespasian is too large a subject to bring within the scope of this paper: I can only deal with it in the briefest outline, noting its points of connexion with the issues we have been discussing.

A. *Spain*. Mint of Tarraco. *N*, *R*. Coins identified by style, on comparison with issues of Galba and Vitellius. Among the reverse types are COS. ITER. FORT. RED. [Pl. IX. 9], IVDAEA, PAX, CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM, HISPANIA, MARS CONSERV, MARS VLTOR.

Two coins with *Obv.* DIVVS AVGVSTVS, *Rev.* HISPANIA and PAX P.R. respectively, certainly belong to this same mint, and probably to this period of it.

B. *Gaul*. Mint of Lugdunum. *N*, *R*. Coins identified by style, on comparison with issues of Galba and Vitellius. Among the many reverse types are IVDAEA DEVICTA, DE IVDAEIS, TRIVMP. AVG. [Pl. X. 6], PACI AVGVSTI, S.P.Q.R.P.P.OB.C.S., TITVS ET DOMITIANVS CAESARES, and VESTA.

This coinage certainly extends from 69 to 72, and perhaps later; but after 72 it is rather more doubtful.

Both these mints, Tarraco and Lugdunum, seem to have issued brass, at any rate in the early years of Vespasian.

C. *Rome.* *A, R.* It is not easy to decide exactly which of the earlier issues of Vespasian are from this mint. One class of coin, however, is marked down to Rome by the portrait of Vespasian, which is little more than an adaptation of the Roman portrait of Vitellius [see Pl. X. 16].

Other coins of Vespasian belong to other parts of the Empire and lie apart from our subject. Such are

(1) The Syrian class, struck at Antioch and possibly at other places, such as Berytus.

(2) The Asia Minor class, struck at the mints of Ephesus, Byzantium, and probably several other cities.

(3) Coins struck for the armies of Illyricum, at Aquileia (?).

There are probably a few other subordinate mints still to be traced. I trust to follow up this question in a later paper.

We have now completed our survey of the coinage of the Civil Wars and have seen how well it mirrors the stirring events of the time. We have seen how the right of coinage, attached to the imperial office, is naturally exercised by each Emperor in that part of the Empire in which he happens to be; this fact may throw light both on the origin of the imperial coinage in general and on the placing of certain special issues in the first and second centuries A.D. And, although numismatics cannot add much to our historical knowledge of the time, it can at least perform its useful and normal function of illustrating and vivifying history.

I conclude with two charts, giving a conspectus of the coinage which we have been discussing—

Gold and silver.	Rome.	Gaul.			Upper Ger-many.	Spain.			Africa.
		Lugdunum.	Augustodunum (?)	Narbo.	Mogontiacum (?)	Tarraco.	Uncertain.	Uncertain.	Carthage (?)
Nero	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clodius Macer.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	×
"Autonomous"	—	?	×	—	×	×	×	×	×
Galba	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×
Otho	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
Vitellius	×	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
Vespasian . . .	×	×	—	—	—	×	—	—	—

Brass.	Rome.	Lugdunum.	Tarraco.
Nero	×	×	—
Galba	×	×	×
Otho	—	—	—
Vitellius	×	—	×
Vespasian . . .	×	×	×

VII.

EDWARD VI AND DURHAM HOUSE.

THE shadow of uncertainty has rested upon the comments of writers who have from time to time affirmed or doubted the existence of a working mint during the reign of Edward VI in the Strand palace of the Bishops of Durham. I shall, however, hope to prove in the following pages that the affirmative tradition can now be accepted as an established fact, as it has apparently fallen to my lot to bring to light certain evidence which should remove the main question, at least, from the region of speculation.

The Durham House of Tudor days, as shown in early prints, occupied a fine position facing the Thames, its land running northwards from the river to the line of the Strand. The site was eventually cleared by the brothers Adam in the eighteenth century for the purpose of erecting the buildings known as the Adelphi, but the name of the old palace is perpetuated by Durham Street. Stow in his *Survey of London* (1598) when describing the house makes no reference to a mint, although he mentions elsewhere the similar establishment at Suffolk House in Southwark. It is also remarkable that the King's *Journal* does not contain any allusion to the new departure in 1548-1549.

Before dealing with the recently acquired information I will turn aside for a moment to consider two

mutually destructive stories which have grown up side by side with the real history of the undertaking. These are the allegations (1) that Sir Wm. Sharington, in collusion with Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, carried on this mint, and (2) that Edward, Duke of Somerset, "erected a mint at Duresme Place for his own private advantage." It is, I think, quite obvious that the former statement is due to a confusion between Durham House and Bristol, which latter mint had been fraudulently exploited by Sharington and Thomas Seymour (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV. Vol. XI. pp. 331-350), both of whom were, as a matter of fact, prisoners in the Tower, for other reasons, at the date when the industry at Durham House came into being; and it would seem the more desirable to correct this misapprehension as it has lately obtained wider circulation in Mr. E. B. Chancellor's work *The Annals of the Strand* (1912). The charge against the Duke of Somerset cannot perhaps be so absolutely refuted, but it is, I believe, equally untrue, although it was put forward in his lifetime.

Edward Seymour, in his capacity as Protector of the realm, undoubtedly established the new mint, a step which may have given rise to the imputation, as the Bristol scandal had then recently become public property. But the most significant circumstance in favour of the Protector's innocence in this matter is the absence of a single word suggesting malpractices at Durham House from the 28 articles of accusation which were preferred against him at his subsequent impeachment. Such evidence would have been easy to find if there had been any truth in the charge. Among the confessions of Sharington there is a conversation which affords an instance of these contemporary rumours, and

illustrates the bitterness which then existed between the two members of the Seymour family. On February 15, 1548-1549, Sharington alleged that at the opening of the mint in Durham Place, Thomas Seymour said to him that he hoped the "Lord Protector do not make that mynt for himself," to which Sharington replied, "No, they have indenturs as well as we [*i.e.* at Bristol] betwixt the King and them," and that the Lord Admiral rejoined that Bowes the treasurer was the Protector's man, as he had been informed (Haynes's *State Papers of Lord Burleigh*, 1740).

Returning now to the principal subject, the first document is that which sets out the constitution of the mint in a form which is unusual in the case of a new organization, the more general custom being to execute an indenture, or agreement, between the Crown and the intended officers.¹

A Commission was directed to "John Bowes esquier treasurer of oure mynt within oure maner called Dureham Place, Robert Recorde esquier comptroler of the same mynt, and John Maire gentilman general assayer there;" reciting that the King, by the advice of his well-beloved uncle, Edward, Duke of Somerset, and others of the Privy Council, was resolved to make certain new moneys of gold and silver of the standards and valuations thereafter mentioned, "after oure p̃clamacions be set fourth in that behalf." The three officers were ordered to strike into print four manner of coins of 22 c. fine gold and 2 c. alloy in the lb. Troy, viz.

¹ In an Exchequer account (303/5) certain sums are allowed for the cost of writing the respective indentures for the mints at the Tower, Southwark, Canterbury, York, Bristol and Dublin, between the regnal years 1 and 4 Edw. VI, but no mention is made of a document for Durham House.

The sovereign, running for 20s., of which 34 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Half sovereign, "Our Edward royall," for 10s., of which 67 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Crown, for 5s., of which 136 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Half-crown, for 2s. 6d., of which 272 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

A "remedy" of 2 grains, or $\frac{1}{6}$ of a carat, in the lb. Troy.

The treasurer might buy fine gold of 24 c. at £3 the ounce, in lawful moneys by tale, and gold of less fineness at proportionate rates.

And to strike into print two manner of coins of 8 oz. fine silver and 4 oz. alloy in the lb. Troy, viz.

The shilling, running for 12d., of which 96 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Half-shilling, running for 6d., of which 187 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

A "remedy" of 2dwt. in the lb. Troy.

And shall continue to make, notwithstanding anything within the present commission, groats, half-groats, pence, halfpence and farthings of 4 oz. fine silver and 8 oz. alloy, according to the limitations of "a pair of indentures made between us and other our officers there" and bearing date December 2, 2 Edw. VI (1548). And furthermore shall continue the converting of "our money latelie called testons" according to the commissions directed to the treasurers and others of the mints within the Tower, and dated February 16, 2 Edw. VI (1547-1548). And to the intent that the moneys aforesaid might be richly made in weight and fineness, the officers were authorized to make the same as nigh unto the said standards as they, "being kept

out of danger," might conveniently make them. Dated at Westminster, January 29, 3 Edw. VI (1548-1549). (Patent Roll, 3 Edw. VI, part 3, m. 22 dors.)

The terms of the document are peculiar in more than one respect. First, it is unquestionable that this commission was not the earliest step in the process of setting up the mint at Durham House, because we are told that in the previous December the customary indenture had been executed by certain unnamed officers. At this point, however, the Exchequer records fail us; the provisions of this indenture, the names of those entrusted with the work, and the reason for their presumed dismissal after seven weeks only, cannot now be ascertained, and to that extent the history of the undertaking must be left incomplete, unless the requisite facts should be incidentally disclosed by other public or private records not directly relating to the coinage. Again, the concluding extract from the commission seems to be quite without precedent, inasmuch as it gives the officers an unusually free hand (beyond the limits of the "remedy") in the making of the coins; under such circumstances the omission of a proviso as to the trials of the pyx, either in the mint or at Westminster, is not altogether surprising, and it should also be noted that there is no order for the use of a privy mark. One other feature of interest in this document calls for notice. For the first time in the annals of our mint history the coins described as the "shilling" and the "half-shilling" were ordered to be struck for currency. It is, of course, true that several indentures in the first year of Edward VI provided for silver coins of twelve pence, but these were called "testons" and were of much greater weight.

With respect to the three men who were responsible

for the operations at Durham House, I find no record of their appointments other than is contained in the commission, an oversight which is characteristic of the haphazard methods of administration in vogue during this reign. John Bowes, the head of the establishment, will be referred to later in connexion with the mint-marks on the coins, meanwhile I think that I recognize in Robert Recorde, the comptroller, a trusted and expert servant of the Crown who was sent to Bristol to help Sir Thomas Chamberlain, and who was afterwards chief technical adviser at the mines and the mint in Ireland. Possibly he was the physician and mathematician who bore the same names and who died in 1558. Of John Maire, the assayer, I know nothing; he comes upon the stage for the first time, and leaves it when the curtain falls at Durham House.

It will have been observed that the commission does not allude to an engraver, and therefore we probably ought to assume, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, that the dies were prepared at the Tower by Henry Basse, or by his assistant Robert Pitt, in accordance with the practice which then obtained when coining irons were required for the subsidiary mints, excepting Dublin and Bristol. This economy in working expenses does not facilitate the task of distinguishing between the products of the Tower and Durham House, for a second artist might introduce some detail of his craft which would enable a student to identify the coins issued from the Strand workshops.

The proclamation "for the valuation of new coins of gold and silver" is dated 24 Jan., 2 Edw. VI, viz. five days earlier than the commission, which refers to its publication as a future event. The King orders that the

four pieces of gold (again styling the half-sovereign as "Edward royall") and the two pieces of silver, which he "hath caused to be made," shall be thenceforth current within his dominions, at the values already set out in the extracts from the commission. The proclamation concludes by directing that all manner of groats, half-groats, pence and halfpence, "not clipped or full broken, albeit they may be much cracked," shall be received without refusal, under a penalty of arrest.

At present I have only proved that the mint was duly inaugurated; the next step will be to show that coins were in fact struck there, in order to set at rest the doubts which have arisen, but unfortunately this cannot be done in the form I could wish, as the usual accounts of the under-treasurer, which would disclose his transactions, have not come down to us. It is, however, possible to obtain, in a restricted shape and through another channel, the desired assurance that Durham House was not merely a mint on paper, one in which the moneyer's hammer was never used. Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, to whom all the mint establishments in England and Ireland accounted for their gains, drew up a statement of the sums so paid to him during a period extending from 36 Henry VIII to 5 Edward VI. This return is in excellent condition, and among the labyrinth of figures is a note of the amounts received from John Bowes. We may infer that the earning of profits connotes industrial activity of some kind, but whether the coinage was of gold or of silver, or whether it included both the striking of the new currency and the conversion of the old, must remain unsolved as far as this particular document is concerned.

Peckham acknowledges to have received from the "undertreasurer of the Kinges mynte in Duresme Place in the suburbes of London, of the revenue and encrease of bullion coyned," the sum of £9100 in nine separate payments, of which the first was on May 2, 3 Edw. VI (1549), and the last on October 21 in the same year. (Declared acct^s., Pipe office, 2077.) These figures go to show that the output was considerable, but it would be impossible to make a reliable calculation as to the aggregate number of coins produced unless we could ascertain the respective quantities of gold and silver bullion. As the above memorandum is the only entry which relates to the mint in the Strand, notwithstanding that the account extends to the beginning of 1551, I suppose that the date of the payment on October 21, 1549, represents in point of time the end of the operations, more or less approximately. If this deduction be well founded, Durham House would probably be the shortest lived among English mints which were formally constituted, seeing that a period of about eleven months is all that can with certainty be assigned to it.

Some might regard it as an ominous coincidence that in October, 1549, the Protector was deposed from office and sent to the Tower, but not to that part of the fortress in which we are chiefly interested. I prefer to think that the unexplained cessation of work by John Bowes was caused in a large measure by scarcity of bullion, and in support of this view I will add extracts from two letters which throw light upon the straits to which Peckham and others were reduced.

On June 22, 1549, Sir Thomas Smith, the King's secretary, tells the Protector that "necessity will drive to leave York and Canterbury mints as well as Bristow"

for lack of bullion, unless small moneys be coined from the "reliques" of testons. (By a slip which very rarely happens, the printed calendar of State Papers gives an exactly contrary sense to this passage.) On the same day Peckham sends a despairing letter to Smith, saying that the writer will find it hard to make payments "unless it may please you for to write your letters to M^r Bowes of Deresme Place for to make payment to my hands of the m^{l.ii} which he did promise unto you of the profits rising of his office, of the which yet hitherto sithence the erection of the same he hath paid but vi^c ^{li}, so that it is not to be doubted but that he may well spare one m^{l.ii} more, and wherefore I do heartily pray for [you] to write unto him for to pay the same unto me now at this need." (S. P. Dom., Edw. VI, vol. 7. 38-9.)

Only once more do I find a trace of the abandoned mint, viz. on August 18, 1551, when the Privy Council instructs Sir John Yorke "to deliver iii^{m^{l.ii}} of suche money as he receaved of the mynte at Duresme . . . after the rate of xii^d the shilleng," for use in Ireland. It would appear, therefore, that the remainder of the coin and bullion at Durham House had been removed to Southwark, or to the Tower, in the meantime. I should not omit to state that, happily, no one employed at Durham House is to be found in the list of eight responsible persons at various other mints who were eventually pardoned for having permitted or committed transgressions of every conceivable kind in relation to the coinage; these offences form a painful commentary on the disorderly methods, to use a temperate phrase, which were evidently commonplaces during Edward's reign.

The end of such historical evidence as came under my

notice in the course of an exhaustive search has now been reached, and accordingly I propose briefly to consider how far it is practicable to assign any coins or series of coins to this mint. I had hoped to obtain a preliminary clue from the half-sovereign to which the unusual name of "our Edward royall" was attached both in the commission and in the proclamation, but I found that the weights and the mint-marks offered an easier path along which to travel.

Dealing first with the question of weights, it is possible, I believe, to identify satisfactorily the shilling of 8 oz. fine silver which the commission ordered to be of such size and thickness that 96 should be equal to one pound Troy, *i.e.* 60 grains in each coin. In the National Collection there is a profile shilling of Edw. VI with the *Inimicos* legend (transposed) and mint-mark bow; this coin is in beautiful condition, it is obviously of fine silver, and its weight is $58\frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ grains less than the order, and even this slight discrepancy may be due to the edge being a little chipped (see *Handbook*, pl. xvi., 456). I regard this shilling as furnishing one key to the situation, partly by reason of its mark and also because it turns the scale-beam at some 20 grains less than the profile shillings of more debased silver, the standard weight of which is said to be 80 grains, a disparity sufficiently large to prevent any confusion between the two issues. The coin of $58\frac{1}{2}$ grains is here illustrated, A.

I have not been able to trace the existence of a "half-shilling" marked with the bow; this coin should be $30\frac{150}{187}$ grains.²

² If my attribution of the bow mark be correct, it follows that the reverse legend *Inimicos*, etc. (taken from the Vulgate, Ps. cxxxi. 18),

Unfortunately, the weights of the gold coins mentioned in the foregoing commission are not so distinctive as in the case of the inferior metal. The sovereign, although ordered, is as yet unknown to me, while the half-sovereign, which ought to be $85\frac{65}{7}$ grains, is too near the weight of contemporary coins to be useful for



Shilling and Half-sovereign of Edward VI (British Museum).

comparison with the products of other mints. Before leaving the subject of weights, I will refer to an illustrated note by Mr. Murchison in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. I. Vol. XX. p. 187, where he described a "pattern" half-sovereign of Edward VI. The coin shows the crowned bust in armour of the second issue type, with the bow as mint-mark, the weight being $84\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The writer

was used exclusively at the Strand mint, as these shillings are not known with any other privy mark. They also occur in what is presumably the 4-oz. standard of fineness, with a weight approaching 80 grains.

tentatively, and as I think rightly, assigned this coin to Durham House. It must, surely, be one of the "Edward royalls." (Cf. illustration B.)

Some of the various mint-marks of this period must next be considered, and an attempt made to settle their respective places of origin. At the outset I was confronted with a difficulty which arose from the surname of the treasurer, *i.e.* the head, of the new establishment in the Strand being the same as that of a more widely known mint official at the Tower, *viz.* Sir Martin Bowes, once Lord Mayor. There were already quite enough complications in the monetary system of Edward VI, without the addition of duplicated names, but I had to take things as I found them. As the coincidence of name and arms must be an important factor in any scheme of redistribution, it will be convenient to summarize the more essential points in Sir Martin Bowes's personal history. That he belonged to an armigerous family is proved by the inclusion of his name in the Visitation of Essex in 1552 (*Harl. Society*), but he was not the father of John Bowes at Durham House, nor was he, as far as I can discover, closely related to him. John Bowes was also entitled to bear arms (in one grant he is described as *armiger*) and was probably a member of a distinct branch of the family whose coat differed only slightly from that of Sir Martin. The charges upon Martin Bowes's armorial shield were (1) three bows bent, (2) a swan holding a ring in its beak, and (3) two lions' faces. His crest appears to have been a sheaf of arrows.

Before it became possible to make a claim, as I now do, on behalf of Durham House and John Bowes to be allotted a position alongside the other mints of Edward VI,

the practice was to assign to the Tower all coins of the Henry-Edward period which showed the marks of the bow, the swan, or the arrow, and to regard these three symbols as being directly associated with the arms of Martin Bowes. But I feel that it is now desirable to revise this arrangement, and to suggest an attribution to the smaller mint of those coins which are respectively marked with the bow and the grappling-iron, retaining at the Tower any pieces marked with the arrow or the swan. I shall presently offer some reasons on behalf of the proposed alterations, without in any way saying that there cannot be other types or marks which have an equal right to be accepted as products of Durham House, for I am conscious that the result does not meet every objection which might be urged. But, on the whole, the probabilities seem to favour this system of division. In the course of examining the evidence I shall assume that we are on common ground in holding the belief that some portion, as yet undetermined, of the later types of Henry VIII were in fact struck by his son, Edward VI, and for a considerable period.

The rearrangement would include the following denominations, all of which are mentioned in the commission of 29 January, 1548-9:—

1. Groats and pence of Henry's 4th and 5th types (*Hawkins*) with m.m. grappling-iron or bow, and the *Posui* legend.

2. Groats, half-groats, and pence of Henry's 5th type, with m.m. bow and grappling-iron, and the *Redde cuique* legend.

3. Half-sovereigns and half-crowns of Edward's 2nd issue (*Kenyon*), with m.m. grappling-iron, and

Scutum fidei legend. Also the young portrait half-sovereign of Henry with the same mark.

4. Shillings of Edward with profile portrait, m.m. bow or grappling-iron, and with the *Inimicos* or *Timor* legends.

The two mint-marks of the bow and grappling-iron occur on shillings of Edward dated 1548 and 1549, and the same marks are to be found on silver coins of Henry VIII. Therefore, if we follow, as I think we should, the proposition laid down by Sir John Evans, that "all coins bearing the same mint-mark, and evidently of no very different age, belong to one and the same limited period" (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. III. Vol. VI. 122), we must transfer to the years 1548 and 1549 of Edward's reign such coins of Henry as exhibit the two last-mentioned symbols.

Now, Martin Bowes was appointed a master-worker at the Tower in 1533, an office which imposed an obligation on the holder to insert a mark upon the coinages under his control, and he was promoted in 1544 to an under-treasurership in the same establishment. Although there were precedents for using mint-marks of an heraldic character derived from the arms of an official, and although Martin Bowes had ample opportunities of adopting the bow at any time after 1533, the mark does not occur until 1548 (if we have transferred Henry's coins, as proposed above), viz. the identical year which synchronizes with the opening and working of the new mint. From these premisses I draw the inference that any coins, whether of Henry or of Edward, which bear the bow as a mark were struck by John Bowes at Durham House, and not by Sir Martin Bowes at the Tower.

Turning to the grappling-iron mark, this attribution is chiefly based upon the fact that some of the *Redde cuivre* coins of Henry VIII are distinguished by this mark on the reverse and by the bow on the obverse. The reverse legend on these groats and smaller pieces is so uncommon as to negative the possibility that it was used at more than one mint, and, having claimed these coins on the score of the bow and grappling-iron marks, I must also transfer to Durham House all other pieces which are stamped with the latter mark alone.

The bow mark is rarely seen on silver and still more rarely on gold coins; on the other hand, the grappling-iron occurs with comparative frequency upon the debased silver issues, and consequently it seems probable that this symbol was used (1) for the 4oz. fine silver coinage which the Commission ordered to be "continued" in accordance with the indenture of the previous December, and (2) for the smaller moneys converted from testons. It is also to be observed that the grappling-iron is found on shillings dated 1549 only, thus supporting the attribution to this mint, which was working in that particular year.

The mint-mark rose has sometimes been given to Durham House, but as the rose is known upon shillings dated 1547 and 1551 respectively (see Montagu sale catalogue), it must be definitely rejected on the ground that the mint was not in existence during either of those years.

Then as to the mark commonly known as the arrow. This symbol occurs on Henry's second-issue gold and silver coins (1526 onwards), and may therefore have been adopted by the Tower authorities before Martin Bowes received his earlier appointment in 1533,—a contingency

which raises a doubt as to whether the mark has any affinity at all with the arms or the name of that family. Therefore I think that the arrow should be ruled out as regards Durham House, seeing that it had been in use at the Tower during the previous twelve or fifteen years, and for that reason would not have been chosen by a new official at a new mint.

The mint-mark swan should be regarded as being, in all probability, associated with the arms of Bowes, but as it is found on a profile shilling dated 1550, it must be given to Sir Martin, at the Tower Mint, if we accept the evidence that the Strand moneyers had ceased to work at the end of 1549. The swan also occurs, in conjunction with the arrow, upon a second-issue gold crown of Edward VI in the cabinet of Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, which is an additional reason for assigning the former mark to the Tower.

Having finished what I have to say on the main subject of this paper, I wish to propound a general theory as to the source of Henry VIII's posthumous silver coins, and to deduce therefrom a possible interpretation of an elusive fragment of numismatic history. I believe that the silver upon which these coins were struck was derived solely from the melting down of the condemned testons which had been issued in the previous reign, and that the titles and portraits of Henry were used on all occasions when such a conversion was carried out, but the motive which induced Edward's advisers thus to recreate the coinage of his father is not very apparent. The opinion has been expressed that the King, being desirous of restoring the old standards of fineness, elected to reproduce Henry's titles for the debased money until the economic situation permitted him to institute a general

scheme of improvement; this is, at any rate, a not improbable solution of a difficult point.

A study of contemporary documents proves that a considerable part of the work done in each of Edward's mints related to the conversion of the discarded pieces of twelve pence into groats and smaller denominations, chiefly of 4oz. fine silver, which was the latest and the worst of the standards ordered by Henry. We have an instance at hand of these instructions to continue the conversion of testons and the striking of small moneys, in the Durham House commission, from which extracts have been already quoted. Great numbers of the large coins must have been remelted, for in one document alone a sum of four thousand pounds in value is named. This was the occasion, in February, 1549-50, when the officials at Southwark were directed to revert to the image and superscription of the King's father (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV. Vol. XI. p. 346).³ The cost of the operation was presumably borne by the Crown, as the holders received by tale twelve pence in groats, &c., for each teston brought in, but as a few of the latter were of a higher standard than 4oz. fine silver, the loss may have been partially recouped in that way. My suggestion would account for the comparatively plentiful supply of posthumous groats and smaller coins of Henry's types, and for the corresponding scarcity of his testons.

If this explanation be regarded as acceptable, I could use it as the foundation for a comment upon the legend *Redde cuique quod suum est*, which appears on one of the

³ I then said that 1st February, 4 Edw. VI, the date of this interesting order, was in "1550-51," which was incorrect. That day in the fourth regnal year should have been rendered as 1st February, 1549-50.

groups of coins which I have ventured to assign to Durham House. Sir John Evans, on p. 136 of his article previously cited, mentions this novel legend as being inappropriate to a debased coinage, as indeed it was at first sight, and I am not aware that its inward meaning has subsequently been elucidated.

In the absence of any other solution, I think that the legend was placed upon a limited number of pattern coins which were afterwards rejected, the object of the graver being to indicate, somewhat obliquely, the source whence the metal was obtained. Accordingly I would paraphrase the words as, "Render to Henry the things which are his." If the *Redde cuique* groats, &c., were made from teston silver, my interpretation would not be inconsistent with the facts, and the legend would be no longer inappropriate.

It only remains to add that all the original documents here quoted are to be found at the Public Record Office.

HENRY SYMONDS.

VIII.

COINS OF SOME KINGS OF HORMUZ.

(See Plate XI.)

THE gold coins described below were purchased, with the exception of No. 2, in Colombo. With them were 26 Othmanli sequins and one Indo-Portuguese S. Thomé. Coin No. 2 and a sequin of Murád III were found in the Kandy bazaars.

The S. Thomé, in weight 51·6 grains, is of an unknown issue and bears no date, but very closely resembles the tangas of 1594 and is attributed to Philip I of Portugal (1580-1595). Of the sequins eleven are of Sulaimán I (A.D. 1520-1566), one being cut down to the weight and size of the gold coins under discussion, five of Selim II (1566-1574) and nine of Murád III (1574-1594), only one of which has the formula سلطان البرين : the remaining piece bears the legend ضارب النضر on both sides. Other sequins from the same hoard had been disposed of before the inspection of those above mentioned by the writer. The evidence available points to one find in the neighbourhood of Kandy two or three years ago. The silver larins were found in various places in the island.

On the gold pieces occur the names of three sovereigns, viz. Muhammad Sháh, A.H. 939; Salghar Sháh, A.H. 942; and Túrán Sháh, A.H. 952, and 958; all appear in the list of the kings of Hormuz. According to the Sháh

námah, composed in the fourteenth century by King Túrán Sháh and translated from the Persian into Spanish by Pedro Teixeira,¹ one Muḥammad, a member of a royal family in southern Arabia, migrated with his followers to the Persian coast about A.D. 1100 and founded there the city of Old Hormuz, of which he became the first king. Later on the princes of his family would seem to have ruled as governors on behalf of the Salgharid Atabegs of Fars until, on the decline of that dynasty, Amír Rukn ad-dín Muḥammad, who died in A.H. 676 (A.D. 1278), declared his independence.² About the year 700 (A.D. 1301) the invasions of the Ilkháns led to the foundation of the city of New Hormuz on the island of Jarún at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the transfer of the seat of government thereto. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the kingdom included besides the capital, the islands of Bahrein, Kishm, and Kais in the Gulf, Kalhát, Muscat, and Sohár on the Arabian coast, as well as some territory held as a fief of the Sháh of Persia on the opposite mainland.

Hormuz was then of such importance as a centre of trade and of such wealth that de Albuquerque resolved to subject it: accordingly he visited the city in 1507, when he made the king Ceifadim (Saif ad-dín) a tributary of Portugal and began the construction of a fortress. Ceifadim died of poison, and was succeeded, apparently at the end of 1513,³ by his brother Torunxá, Terunxa, or Turuxá (Túrán Sháh), in whose reign de

¹ *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Hakluyt Society: Appendix A, *Kings of Hormuz*.

² *Kings of Hormuz*, p. 161, note 3.

³ Hakluyt Society's *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, Part IV., capp. 24, 30 (p. 186), and 33 (p. 147). Correa gives 1515, *Lendas da Índia*, tom. II., p. 420.

Albuquerque again visited Hormuz and firmly established the Portuguese power, but without interference in the internal administration of the kingdom. Some years later, however, Portuguese officials were placed in charge of the customs and a general revolt broke out: on its failure Torunxá fled to Kishm and was poisoned by his minister, who raised Mahamed Xá or Patxá Mahmet Xá (Pádsháh Muḥammad Sháh), son of Ceifadim, to the throne early in 1522 (A.H. 928). This prince dying in 1534 (A.H. 940-1), his son, a child of eight, succeeded, but was soon poisoned by his "uncle" Rayx Ale (Rais 'Alí), who assumed the sovereignty.⁴ Deposed in 1541, according to Correa he was restored early in 1544 and died of poison shortly afterwards.⁵ He is doubtless identical with Xargol Xá (Salghar Sháh), son of Torunxá, who, according to de Couto, succeeded Mahamed Xá and died in November, 1543 (A.H. 950). It was this prince who surrendered the customs to the King of Portugal in Muḥarram A.H. 948.⁶ His son Torunxá, a boy of twelve, was sent from Goa⁷ to take his place, and died about 1563 (A.H. 970-1), when the throne was occupied for a few months by his aged uncle Babu Xá or Mamu Xá. The next ruler was this prince's son Ferrago Xá (Farrukh Sháh), who began his reign in 1564 or 1565 (A.H. 971-973), and dying about 1601 (A.H. 1010), was succeeded in turn by his sons Firruxá (? Fíróz Sháh), who governed until his death in February, 1609 (A.H. 1071), and Mamede Xá (Muḥammad Sháh), during whose reign the

⁴ Castanheda, Liv. VIII., cap. 76.

⁵ Correa, tom. IV., capp. 16, 23, 47, and 49. His name is not mentioned.

⁶ De Couto, Dec. V., liv. IX., cap. 5, and liv. X., cap. 1.

⁷ According to Correa, cap. 53, he was in Hormuz at his father's death.

capital fell into the hands of the allied English and Persians in 1622 (A.H. 1031).⁸ Hormuz thereafter ceased to be of importance and its trade passed to Bandar 'Abbás.

The Shi'ah formula appearing on these coins also points to Persia or the Persian Gulf as a probable locality of the mint of issue. According to Teixeira the people of Hormuz were Shi'ahs and Sunnis, the kings belonging to the latter sect:⁹ Pyrard, however, states that the kings "*sont Mahometans comme les Perses.*"¹⁰ If they were not Shi'ahs, the political dependence of Hormuz on Persia may perhaps account for the presence of the formula.¹¹ Further, the weight of the coins is not incompatible with their identification as Hormuz xerafins of 300 reis each, when compared with the Venetian sequin of 420 and the pagoda of 360 reis. The general conclusion, therefore, is that these gold coins are ashrafis or xerafins of Hormuz, struck by the kings of that place under the suzerainty of the Portuguese.

The *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* show that in the early years of the sixteenth century the xerafim was the chief coin of the countries bordering the Persian Gulf

⁸ The historical sketch given above is chiefly from Mr. Donald Ferguson's notes to the *Kings of Hormuz*. Mr. Ferguson, however, is not quite correct in attributing to de Couto the statement that on the death of Ceifadim there succeeded Xargol Xá, son of Torunxá. The original Portuguese has: "Por morte deste (sc. Mahamed Xá, que reinou nove annos, e era filho de Ceifadim) succedeo Xargol Xá, filho de Torunxá." He adds, however: "Este Xargol mandou depois Nuno da Cunha ir succedir no Reyno, vindo-lhe novas da morte d'El-Rey Ceifadim," an obvious error (Dec. V., liv. IX., cap. 10).

⁹ *Kings of Hormuz*, p. 168.

¹⁰ Paris edition of 1679, Vol. II., cap. 18, p. 155.

¹¹ In 1513 Ceifadim accepted "the cap and prayer of the Xequé Ismael" (Sháh Ism'ail I) and admitted his supremacy: he apparently became a Shi'ah. *Comm. Dalbog.*, Part IV., capp. 18 and 30.

and the Arabian Sea. Correa¹² mentions "xerafins e tangas de prata" at Hormuz under the date 1507, and in the same year the tribute extorted from the king of that place was paid in xerafins, as was the ransom of Muscat, a town then in his dominions.¹³

Nunes, describing the moneys of India in his *Lyvro dos pesos da Yndia*, written in 1554, puts the value of the xerafim of Aden at 360 reis and gives the following detailed account of the Hormuz currency:—

Faluz of 10 dinares	$1\frac{17}{3}$ reis (nearly)
Çadim (صدى "100") of 100 dinares	$13\frac{41}{3}$ " "
Azar (هزار "1000") of 10 çadis .	$139\frac{22}{3}$ " "
Pardão de çadis of 2 azares . . .	$279\frac{3}{3}$ " "

Xerafim douro (xerafim of gold = $21\frac{1}{2}$ çadis of good money or 300 reis in Hormuz. In India its value was 2 or 3 per cent. higher through shroffage, but by the author's time had fallen to 300 reis, gold of less fineness being used for the coin.

Tanga de prata (silver tanga or larin) = $4\frac{1}{2}$ çadis ($62\frac{44}{3}$ reis), but in 1554 had risen to 5 çadis ($69\frac{23}{3}$ reis), five making the pardão of 360 reis.

Of these denominations the dinar was the unit, for in the surrender of the customs to the King of Portugal by Salghar Sháh already referred to, 40 lakhs are said to be equal to 1800 xerafins of gold and 250 lakhs to 9036 pardãos of gold (pardãos douro).¹⁴ A payment of 2000 "faluzes" is recorded as having been made by Albuquerque at Kalhát, then under Hormuz.¹⁵

¹² Tom. I., p. 289, quoted by Aragão, *Mocdas cunhadas em nome dos reis*, &c., Vol. III., p. 93.

¹³ *Comm. Dalboq.*, Part I., capp. 34 and 24.

¹⁴ De Couto, Dec. V., Liv. IX., cap. 5.

¹⁵ *Comm. Dalboq.*, Part I., cap. 59.

In Aragão's Document, No. 96 of 1668, mention is made of coinage at Goa from "sadis," "abacis," and other silver pieces, taken as prize from the Arab fleet by D. Jeronymo Manuel. The silver of the sadi was very base, for to every mark of it two ounces of refined silver had to be added to make ten ounces of standard silver, namely, that of the current xerafins. This piece is said by Teixeira in his *Kings of Persia*, written at Hormuz, to have been "just half a real."¹⁶ Da Cunha in *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, also mentions under the year 1618 "Salares," Persian coins from Hormuz, in value about 90 reis each.

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Venetian sequin was valued at seven tangas, of 60 reis each, the pardão douro or pagoda at six, and the xerafim of Hormuz at five: the two last with the silver tanga continued to form the bulk of the gold and silver currency in Goa until the minting of the gold S. Thomé between 1545 and 1548.¹⁷ The first disturbance of these values appears to have been caused by the issue of a patacão of bad silver in 1550 as the equivalent of the pagoda; its coinage was stopped in 1566, but the relief obtained was short as two years later debased silver xerafins of 300 reis were struck in Cochin (Aragão Doct., No. 9).

¹⁶ Teixeira's *Travels*, p. 214. The sháhi at Basra was of the value of the real sexille, *ibid.*, p. 30. Thus 100 Hormuz dínars equalled approximately 25 Persian.

¹⁷ [1510-?1545] "e por auer muita moeda de pardãos douro, xerafins, tangas laaris, que vinhão dormuz, não quisera mandar laurar mais que esta moeda de cobre pela muita abastança que da outra auia."

"e nunca até então [1545-8] nhũ destes Visorreis e governadores entenderão no lauramento da moeda douro nem prata, vendo que auia muita bastança della, e vallia hũ pardão redondo seis tangas laarins, e hũ xerafim dormuz cinco, e hũ venezeano sete." (Aragão, Doct., No. 9, pp. 459, 460.)

By a letter of the king D. Sebastião dated June 16, 1569, the coining of the Cochin xerafim was forbidden and the old values restored: accordingly the pardáo douro redondo and the S. Thomé were to run at six tangas of 60 reis each, and the Venetian at seven, while five larins of silver were to equal one pardáo douro of six tangas; all other gold coins, presumably including the Hormuz xerafim, were to be valued in proportion according to their weight and fineness (*ibid.*, Doct., No. 9). However, in August of the same year the Viceroy D. Luiz de Athayde struck new silver xerafims of 11 dinheiros fine to be current at 300 reis each (*ibid.*, Doct., Nos. 10 and 11), and in his second term of office (1578-1581) issued others, but so debased that the Venetian rose from seven tangas to ten, the pardáo redondo from six to nine, and the xerafim douro from five to seven and a half (*ibid.*, Doct., No. 16).

From the above it would appear that the xerafim of Hormuz was identical with the xerafim douro and was the prototype of the Indo-Portuguese silver coin of the same designation and nominal value.

The larins, Nos. 8-12, described below bear the same design as the gold coins: on two is the name of Túrán Sháh, and on three that of Farrukh Sháh. The "tangas laaris" of Hormuz, already mentioned by Correa in 1507 under the name of "tangas de prata," were current in Goa with the gold pardáo and xerafim apparently from the conquest of that city in 1510, and so continued at least until 1569 (*ibid.*, Doct., No. 9, pp. 459, 463). Pyrard in the early years of the seventeenth century, speaking of the silver larin, says: "C'est une sorte de monnoye qui court par toutes les Indes, & il s'en fait en beaucoup d'endroits, mais la meilleure se forge à Ormaz "

(vol. I. chap. 27); and again in his account of that place : "Il en vient aussi quantité de monnoye d'argent que l'on appelle *Larins*, qui est le meilleur argent du monde, & on les nomme *Larins d'Ormuz*" (vol. II. chap. 18).

This coin, in common use on the west coast of India, was current for many years at 60 reis. Thus in 1525 at Diu 5½ fedas or one tanga, and in Cambaya one tanga lary, were equal to this sum (Lembranças das cousas da India, in *Subsidios para a historidia da India-Portuguesa*, pp. 36, 38), and a letter of the king, dated February 18 of the same year, reprehends the practice of giving five tangas in silver for the gold pardáo, which it states was generally worth six (Aragão, p. 123). In 1534-1535 at the building of the fortress of Diu, the chief money was the tanga de prata, five going to the pardáo of 300 reis and six to the pardáo douro, and although it afterwards rose in value as bullion until five went to the gold pardáo, it continued until 1557 to be reckoned locally at 60 reis (*ibid.*, Doct., No. 4).

That this tanga was the larin is shown by the letter of the king D. Sebastião already referred to, in which it is stated that before the governorship of D. João de Castro (1545-1548) the pardáo redondo was worth six "tangas laarins," the xerafim of Hormuz five and the Venetian seven (v, note 17). At Goa in the time of Nunes, though the old valuation remained in force in some places, the silver tanga was current for 60 leaes or 72 reis, namely, at the rate of five to the pardáo douro: this circulation, however, was forced, as on the mainland it was valued at 80 leaes (96 reis) or more (Aragão, Doct., No. 9).

The first Portuguese tangas of 60 reis each appear to have been struck with the silver patacões, though

probably not at their first issue in 1550, and were styled "tangas redondas" or round tangas, presumably to distinguish them from the wire larin (*ibid.*); there can be but little doubt that they were derived from it through the medium of a tanga of account. It would thus seem probable that the currency system finally adopted by the Portuguese, namely, of 60 reis to the tanga and 5 tangas to the xerafim, differing as it did from that of de Albuquerque at Goa,¹⁸ was based, at least for the higher denominations, on the two principal trade coins of the Arabian Sea, the larin and the ashrafi.

The design of all the coins consists of an area enclosed in a square, the sides of which are produced, and in its general appearance may be compared with that of the coins of the Sháhs Ism'ail I and Tahmásp I, where, however, the sides of the square are formed of the name علی (*cf. British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Sháhs of Persia*, Plate I, Nos. 3 and 10). In the area on the obverse is the date in letters or ciphers, and in the reverse area, the name of the king. The legend in the margin is divided into four compartments by the prolonged sides of the square, but does not commence at the same point in all the coins: that on the obverse of most appears to be لا اله الا الله | محمد رسول الله | على ولي الله and on the fourth side [ضرب هرمز سنة] the word سنة being transferred to the area when the date is in ciphers, and on the reverse: السلطان | الاعظم | بن شاه | خلد؟ الله؟ ملكه. The weights of the gold coins may be compared with those of the Salgharid Atabegs of Fars, to whom Hormuz, as already stated, appears to have been once subject.

¹⁸ Based on the local bazaruco, barganim, (bárakáni) and pardáo douro or pagoda.

MUHAMMAD SHÁH.

- | <i>Obv.</i> | <i>Rev.</i> |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>N.</i> Area: [ار]بع or [ت]سع
و و
[نل]ثين
ثة
[ت]سعما | محمد
شاه
and ornament. |

Margins:

left: [لا]اله الا الله

right: خلد م[لكه]

below: محمد

below: [ب]ن شاه

Dated 939 (1532-3) or 934 (1527-8). Weight, 38·7 grains. Diameter, 0·590 inch. [Pl. XI. 1.]

SALGHAR SHÁH.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 2. <i>N.</i> Area: اثنين و
اربعين
و ثة
[تسعم]ا | سلغر
شاه
and ornament. |
|---|------------------------------|

Margins:

above: سنة?

illegible.

Dated 942 (1535-6). Weight, 38·5 grains. Diameter, 0·570 inch. [Pl. XI. 2.]

TÚRÁN SHÁH.

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 3. <i>N.</i> Area: خم[مين]
و
[تس]عمائة | ه
نشا
[تو]را |
|--|--------------------|

Margins:

right: [هر]مز?

above: [الس]لطان

below: [?]ا-ه

right: خلد or ملكه?

Dated 95. Weight, 37·2 grains. Diameter, 0·531 inch. [Pl. XI. 3.]

- Obv.* *Rev.*
4. *A.* Area: ثة تسعما ستين نشا
تورا
- Margins:
 right: [ا] لله above: [السلط]ان?
 above: not read. right: [ملك]ه?
 Dated 96*x*. Weight, 39.1 grains. Diameter, 0.531 inch. [Pl. XI. 4.]
5. *A.* Area: [اثة]مين [خم]سين [تس]عمائة [ن]شاه
[ن]ورا
- Margins:
 right: على ولع left: [الاعظ]م
 Dated 952 (1545-6). Weight, 38.5 grains. Diameter, 0.570 inch. [Pl. XI. 5.]
6. *A.* Area: [اثة]مين [خمسة]مين ثة [تسعما] ه
نشا
[تور]ا
- Margins:
 above: سنة and مز? above: السلطان
 Dated 952 (1545-6). Weight, 38 grains. Diameter, 0.531 inch. [Pl. XI. 6.]
7. *A.* Area: ٩٥٨ سنة ه
نشا
تورا
- Margins:
 above: [ا]لا الله above: [السلطان]
below: [ن]ان ش[اه]?
right: خلد
 Dated 958 (1551). Weight, 39.4 grains. Diameter, 0.531 inch. [Pl. XI. 7.]
8. *R.* Area: ثة [تسعة]ما [نش]ا
[تو]ا
- Margins:
 left: لا اله? above: س
 right: [دس]ول below: [السلطان]
 Weight, 75 grains. [Pl. XI. 8.]

- | <i>Obv.</i> | <i>Rev.</i> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 9. \mathcal{R} . Area: ?? ٩٧
سنة | نشا
تورا |
| Margins : | |
| right: not read. | left: لله |
| Weight, 75·8 grains. | [Pl. XI. 9.] |

FARRUKH SHÁH.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 10. \mathcal{R} . Area: | فرخ |
| part of square. | |
| Margins : | right: [الاعظم] |
| | left: ملکه or خالد |
| Weight, 69 grains. | [Pl. XI. 10.] |
| 11. \mathcal{R} . Area: [? ٩٧] ٢ | ? فرخ |
| | [ش] [ا] [ه] |
| Margins : | |
| right: [الله] ولي | above: [الاعظم] |
| left: illegible. | below: illegible. |
| Dated (?) 972 (1564-5). | Weight, 69·4 grains. |
| | [Pl. XI. 11.] |
| 12. \mathcal{R} . Area: ١٣ ¹⁹ | فرخ |
| Margins : | |
| above: illegible. | left: illegible. |
| below: [ر] [س] [ول] | right: الاعظم or السلطان? |
| Dated (?) 993 (1585). | Weight, 75 grains (bent). |
| | [Pl. XI. 12.] |

H. W. CODRINGTON,
Ceylon Civil Service.

¹⁹ ١ is on the edge of the larin and may be part of ١, the whole reading ١٣٠.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD.

AS we go to press, the news comes of the death, on June 12, after a long and painful illness patiently endured, of Barclay Vincent Head, formerly a Vice-President of the Royal Numismatic Society (1908), and from 1869 to 1910 one of the Editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Mr. Head joined the staff of the British Museum in 1864; from 1893 to 1906 he was Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals. For readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* it is unnecessary to dwell upon the achievements of the man under whom the English School of Greek Numismatics rose to the first rank. Nor is this the place to characterize the personal qualities which endeared him to those who had the good fortune to work with or under him. In our next issue we hope to give a full bibliography of his numismatic writings.

THE EDITORS.

which raises a doubt as to whether the mark has any affinity at all with the arms or the name of that family. Therefore I think that the arrow should be ruled out as regards Durham House, seeing that it had been in use at the Tower during the previous twelve or fifteen years, and for that reason would not have been chosen by a new official at a new mint.

The mint-mark swan should be regarded as being, in all probability, associated with the arms of Bowes, but as it is found on a profile shilling dated 1550, it must be given to Sir Martin, at the Tower Mint, if we accept the evidence that the Strand moneyers had ceased to work at the end of 1549. The swan also occurs, in conjunction with the arrow, upon a second-issue gold crown of Edward VI in the cabinet of Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, which is an additional reason for assigning the former mark to the Tower.

Having finished what I have to say on the main subject of this paper, I wish to propound a general theory as to the source of Henry VIII's posthumous silver coins, and to deduce therefrom a possible interpretation of an elusive fragment of numismatic history. I believe that the silver upon which these coins were struck was derived solely from the melting down of the condemned testons which had been issued in the previous reign, and that the titles and portraits of Henry were used on all occasions when such a conversion was carried out, but the motive which induced Edward's advisers thus to recreate the coinage of his father is not very apparent. The opinion has been expressed that the King, being desirous of restoring the old standards of fineness, elected to reproduce Henry's titles for the debased money until the economic situation permitted him to institute a general



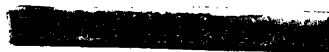
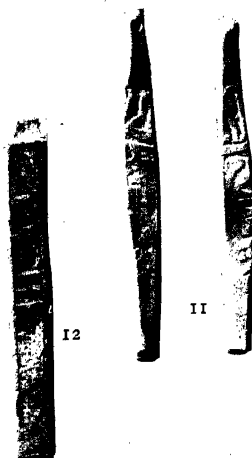
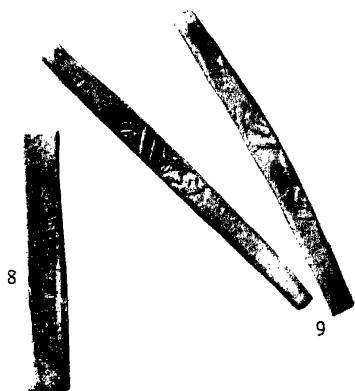
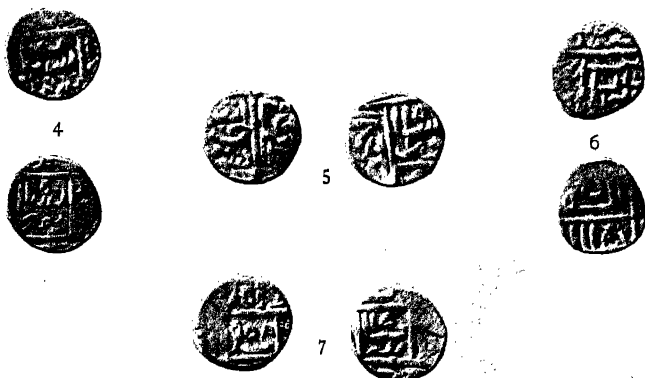




1-3. UNCERTAIN SPANISH. 4-9 TARRACO. 10-13 CARTHAGE? 14, 15 NARBO?
16-19 UNCERTAIN GALLIC (AUGUSTODUNUM?).



1. UNCERTAIN GALLIC (AUGUSTODUNUM ?); 2-6 LUGDUNUM;
7, 8 MOGONTIACUM (?); 9 VETERA (?); 10-16 ROME.



COINS OF KINGS OF HORMUZ.

IX.

NICHOLAS BRIOT AND THE CIVIL WAR.

(See Plates XII.-XV.)

It is many years since Thomas Carlyle sketched in rapid strokes an episode in the life of Thomas Simon, connected with the history of Oliver Cromwell, dismissing the affairs of the eminent engraver and his predecessor, Nicholas Briot, as only worthy of mention in that "they have the honour of passing relation to the Lord General, and still enjoy, or suffer a kind of ghost-existence in the Dilettante memory."¹

The noted historian quotes from Harris's *Life of Cromwell* Oliver's letter of thanks to the Committee of the Army, which refers to Simon's journey to Scotland, undertaken for the purpose of modelling the General's portrait, for reproduction upon the Dunbar medal. This is a letter which contains a recommendation that the artist should succeed to the "employ^t in yo^r service w^h Nicholas Briot had before him,"² and Carlyle terminated

¹ *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, by Thomas Carlyle, edition of 1845, vol. ii. p. 110.

² Letter dated Edinburgh, February 4, 1650, printed in the *Life of Cromwell*, by Dr. W. Harris, ed. 1762, pp. 538-539; see also Vertue's *Medals, Coins, &c., of Thomas Simon*, Gough's edition of 1780, p. 74, where it is noted that the name of Briot is inscribed in the original MS. in another hand, Cromwell merely desiring the vacant place for Simon and apparently leaving a blank to be filled by one more conversant with Mint affairs.

his brief review with the words "Symonds, we see, did get the place of Nicholas Briot, and found it like other brave men's places full of hard work and short rations—Enough of Symonds and the Seals and Effigies."³ Deeming it, however, necessary to explain the nature of the appointment, requested for Simon by Cromwell, as a personal favour to himself, Carlyle devotes a few sentences to Nicholas Briot, quoting an order printed in the Commons' Journals under date August 20, 1642, with regard to the retention of a cargo of mint material shipped by him from London to the King's assistance.⁴ We read "that the Earl of Warwick be desired, that Monsieur Bryatt may have Delivery of his Wearing Apparel, and all other his goods, stayed at Scarborough, not belonging to Minting and Coining Monies."

Carlyle thereupon disposes of the life-story of Charles I's favourite graver in a few characteristic words as follows: "This Nicholas Briot, or Bryatt then must have been Chief Engraver for the Mint at the beginning of the Civil Wars. We perceive he has gone to the King Northward, but is here stopt at Scarborough with all his baggage, by Warwick, the Lord High Admiral; and is to get away. What became of him afterwards or what was his history before, no man and hardly any Dilettante knows."⁵

But although the artist may occupy a less important position in the world's chronicles than that filled by Oliver Cromwell, the student of history admits that the various coinages of Charles I offer an interesting itinerary of the King's travels. Let me therefore assume the part

³ Carlyle, *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 113.

⁴ Commons' Journals, vol. ii. p. 728.

⁵ Carlyle, *ibid.*, p. 111.

of Carlyle's "Dilettante," availing myself of the help afforded by many writers, who have outlined the portrait of Nicholas Briot, since the time of the Scottish historian, —yes, and before, had he cared to acquaint himself with their publications.⁶ I crave forgiveness for unavoidably repeating an oft-told tale, on the plea that some manuscripts have fallen in my way, which although ably calendared at the Public Record Office, were necessarily curtailed in the printed indices. I hope by their aid to throw light upon questions which have hitherto puzzled us with regard to Briot's career, especially in reference to the coinages of York and Oxford.

We need not carefully review the early history of the man, for Monsieur Mazerolle⁷ and other foreign writers⁸ have patiently elucidated the details of his life. More recently Mr. Henry Symonds has brought before us episodes concerning our artist's struggle for supremacy at the Tower Mint,⁹ and has cleared away a certain mystery which hung about the date and place of his death.¹⁰ Moreover, I, myself, have ventured to deal with

⁶ Snelling's *View of the Silver Coins*, p. 37, Folkes' *A Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 79, and Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. pp. 395 to 397, dealing with Briot's history, were all published some time before the first edition (1845) of Carlyle's *Letters of Oliver Cromwell*.

⁷ *Les Médailleurs Français du XVI^{ème} au XVII^{ème} Siècle*, par F. Mazerolle, and *Nicolas Briot Tailleur Général des Monnaies*, in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1904, pp. 191 to 203 and 295 to 314.

⁸ *Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies*, par N. Rondot, édité par H. de la Tour, pp. 261–5, &c.; *L'Œuvre du Médailleur Nicolas Briot*, par J. Rouyer, *Revue Belge*, 1895, pp. 132 to 136, 371 to 399, and 508 to 553; also A. Dauban in the *Revue Numismatique*, N.S. 1857, Tom 2, pp. 14 to 64.

⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 363 to 367: "English Mint Engravers," by Henry Symonds.

¹⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X. p. 397, note 3: "Charles I. Trials of the Pyx."

Briot's history in an early volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*.¹¹ Were it not for some chronological difficulties, therefore, we need not discuss his career in detail previously to the outbreak of the Civil War. But suffice it for our immediate purpose that a member of a noted Protestant family of engravers and medallists, Nicholas, or rather *Nicolas*, according to the original spelling of his name, was born a French subject, *circa* 1579 or 1580, at Damblain in Bassigny in the Duchy of Bar; that although *Tailleur Général des Monnaies de France* from 1606 to 1625, he was unsuccessful in his endeavours to establish a milled currency, in spite of being upheld by Louis XIV in his desires. His constant insubordination to the *Cour des Monnaies* and his visits without leave to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, where he intermittently superintended the mint, militated against a peaceful settlement of all questions which related to his position.¹²

From 1622 to 1625 his methods of coining were under constant discussion, but in July, 1624, he as *Fermier Général de la Monnaie* owed six months' wages to his workmen, and could no longer battle with the situation. In May, 1625, he offered his place for sale, and although the King granted him a delay for the settlement of his affairs, his situation in France became untenable and he fled to England.¹³ His presence is attested in Paris so

¹¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v. : "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals," Part I.

¹² Briot became *Tailleur Général* to the Duc de Lorraine in 1611, but in 1616, in consequence of his frequent absences from Paris, he was forbidden by the *Cour des Monnaies* to work "pour aucuns princes et monnoys estrangères," but some exceptions were, however, made later. See Mazerolle's *Briot Tailleur Général*, p. 198, and *Médailleurs*, vol. i. pp. cxii to cxiv.

¹³ See Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, cxxi to cxxv, and *Tailleur Général*, pp. 303 to 309. Monsieur Mazerolle writes : "Le roi le 15 Mai accorda

late as July 9 (N.S.), 1625,¹⁴ and Monsieur Mazerolle places his departure between September 16 and October 31 (N.S.), 1625,¹⁵ and to these dates I shall have occasion to refer later.

It does not concern us to follow the controversies of French writers as to how much the mechanical appliances, which our Briot had fruitlessly tried to impose upon the Paris mint, were his own, or only a revival of those used in the *Monnaie du Moulin* by Béchet,¹⁶ or more probably the result of his studies in Germany.¹⁷ Be this as it may, to Charles I his methods were welcome.

cependant un délai à Briot pour quitter l'hôtel des Monnaies de Paris. Un nouveau fermier Gabriel Davin était nommé le 3 Juin suivant" (*Tailleur Général*, p. 309).

¹⁴ Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, vol. i. p. 472.

¹⁵ *Briot Tailleur Général*, p. 309, and *Médailleurs*, vol. i. p. 484, and Introduction, p. cxxvi.

¹⁶ The *Monnaie du Moulin* was established in France for a short time under Henri II, but with few exceptions milled coins were not made between the death of Henri in 1559, and 1639 when Varin revived the method. See *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. IX. pp. 68 and 83.

¹⁷ It is only necessary to remember that his method included the use of two engraved cylinders, a machine then employed in Germany but which had the defect of producing somewhat bent pieces. This unintentional curve is discernible both on the Scottish and York coinages, but was avoided by the care bestowed on the Tower pieces (see *Médailleurs*, vol. i. p. 384). By the adoption of a double crank to his press he partly remedied this curvature in France in 1613, but not being entirely successful, he added a flattening press in 1624. His flattening mill was moved by horse power, whilst his "monnoyoir" was an instrument which must somewhat have resembled the seventeenth-century Spanish press described by Mr. Hill at our last February meeting (see *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Part I. pp. 90-92). Briot's invention was worked by two men only, and superior to the old *Monnaie du Moulin*, in that "la monnoye ne s'y marque pas entièrement et tout d'un coup entre deux carreaux, comme faisoit celle du Moulin, ains en coulant entre deux rouleaux d'acier sur lesquels la figure de l'espèce de monnoye est gravée." See Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, vol. i. pp. cxiv and 399.

It is not known whether Theodore de Mayerne, who, filling the office of physician to James I, had continued his ministrations under his successor, suggested that his confrère should be invited to the Court, but it is stated that Briot practised as a doctor on his arrival in England,¹⁸ and it is possible that the two Frenchmen met in the exercise of their profession. That they were acquainted is clear, for Briot's first dated medal in this country portrays de Mayerne in 1625. Amongst the Miscellanea in the *Numismatic Chronicle* is mentioned a writ for a large payment due to the French artist in April, 1626, for working in the King's employ only a few months after his arrival, resulting in the sum of £100 being paid to him under an order of the following November. It appears that Briot had provided "sundry particulars by him brought by His Majesty's commandement needful and necessary for the making of stamps to stamp certain pieces of largess of gold and silver in memory of His Majesty's Coronation, as also for his labour and pains, taken in making and graving certain puncheons for the shaping of His Majesty's picture and the other devices upon the said pieces of largess; and likewise for making a little signet for his Majesty, remaining in his own custody," &c., &c.¹⁹

From this time forward the history of Briot is mainly a repetition of the antagonism outlined in France.

¹⁸ "Nicolas Briot estoit retiré en Angleterre. Il exerçoit audict royaume la médecine et avoit faict de belles cures, mesme qu'il avoit faict et gravé les sceaux du roy d'Angleterre." Evidence given in January, 1628, before the *Cour des Monnaies*. See Mazerolle's *Médailles*, vol. i. pp. 484-5 and cxxvi.

¹⁹ Printed from the Pell Records in *Num. Chron.*, 1st Ser., Vol. IV. p. 182.

Accepted by the King, unacceptable at the Mint, the foreign artist was, however, permitted more freedom in London than in Paris, and although his position at first received less official sanction than in his own country, the comparatively large issue of milled currency attributable to him attests the success of his methods.

But we cannot follow him now through the period of his semi-recognition; there are frequent grants under the Privy Seal from 1626 onward—there is a definite appointment bestowed by Charles I in December, 1628²⁰—there is evidence of his constant employment from that time forward. His official status was assured as “one of the chief gravers” on January 22, 1633-4.²¹ In Scotland also his position was regularly defined in 1635,²² but he had already given passing attention to the northern mint for a considerable time, reporting upon desired alterations in 1632-5, when opposition to the introduction of the milled methods alone caused delay.²³

Let these facts suffice, and let me refer my readers in search of details concerning his private contracts with the King for the making of seals and other matters to my articles on Stuart portraiture in the *British*

²⁰ Printed in abstract by Rymer (see *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 40), but for the first time published in *extenso* by Mr. Symonds in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. pp. 364-365.

²¹ This grant was of an annuity of £50 from Christmas, 1632, during pleasure (see *Num. Chron.*, as above, p. 367).

²² His appointment to the Scottish Mint was of August 7, 1635. His superintendence of the northern currency was principally in 1637 (see Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 446-451). He was, however, temporarily in Scotland in 1633 (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v. pp. 172-173); and had been commended to the Scottish mint to “sett up” the required “instruments” for making copper money in the year 1631 (see Cochran-Patrick's *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 75-88).

²³ Burns, *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 448.

Numismatic Journal,²⁴ where references will be found to various *State Papers*; or rather let them turn to the more recent publication in the *Numismatic Chronicle*²⁵ on the "English Mint Engravers" by Mr. Henry Symonds, who generously placed his proof sheets at my disposal for reference, and has constantly afforded me much assistance from the time when we first found ourselves engaged on the same line of research at the Public Record Office last year.

Let us take Briot then as we find him at the outbreak of the Civil War, the servant of the State at a yearly salary of £50,²⁶ but owing his position to the steady patronage of the King, whose patent, as we have just learned from Mr. Symonds, had granted him the far larger fee of £250.²⁷

The political situation in the early months of 1642 had become so strained that the King deemed it prudent to quit the capital and gather his more loyal subjects about him in the North. He made his way to York on March 19, 1641-2, and used this city as head-quarters and the rendezvous of his party for five months. He sent for and obtained the Great Seal, but before long, considerations concerning money for carrying out his war preparations obtruded themselves upon his mind. According to tradition, as held by Folkes and Ruding, York had enjoyed minting privileges under Charles I

²⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii., "Portraiture of the Stuarts on the Royalist Badges," and vol. v., "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals."

²⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X., "Charles I. Trials of the Pyx"; and *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII., "English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods, 1485 to 1688."

²⁶ See note 21 above.

²⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 365.

since 1629.²⁸ Be this as it may, the well-designed, well-minted coins issued from this city have always been attributed to Briot.

What could be more natural than that the King, who had always patronized this engraver, should require his presence in the north? It would seem that the Mint, if it existed at all at that date, was deficient in instruments and accommodation, and was not prepared for the task thrown upon it. Plate was contributed to the royal cause, and no time was to be lost in converting it into currency. The difficulty of conveying money to the King was great, although the Tower mint was still nominally in his hands, and we may wonder whether the emergency of the moment and the temptation held out by the possibility of coining upon the spot without supervision, caused the monarch's advisers to revive a proposition of making coins of inferior quality or lighter weight than those then current, a proposal which had been negatived by Charles at the instance of Sir Thomas Roe in the previous year.²⁹ Possibly this was the case,

²⁸ Ruding's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 385, edit. 1840, and Folkes' *A Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 79, edit. 1763. "It is said that a mint was erected at York when the great Earl Strafford was president of the North, which office he entered upon about the beginning of the year" [1629]. Folkes and Ruding suggest that the well-rounded York coins were probably due to Briot's presence with the King in his progress to Scotland in 1633. Doubt has, however, been thrown upon so early a foundation for this mint, as we shall see later.

²⁹ Rushworth, in his *Collections* (vol. iii. p. 183, edit. 1706), after speaking of the King's lack of money in July, 1640, writes: "It was therefore propos'd in Council to mix Silver and Copper together and to coin 300000*l.*, three Pence in silver added to a quantity of Copper being to go for Twelve pence, which by proclamation should be declar'd current Money to pay the Army marching to Newcastle" [to oppose the Scots]. "After several days debate his Majesty and the Council thought fit to hear Sir Thomas Row's opinion (a member of the Council) who was well skill'd in coins and spake to this effect. He

for, judging from a correspondence which passed between Secretary Nicholas³⁰ and our friend the engraver, who was still at the Tower, some such suggestion must have been made, greatly to the chagrin of Briot. The first letter belonging to this series, preserved at the Public Record Office, is assigned to May 1, 1642, and Briot therein requests the King to appoint deputies to hear a proposal from himself that the currency be not debased.³¹ He writes in French and at some length, but does not state what plan he wishes to bring forward further than to suggest his conviction that thereby the King is sure to find persons who will lend the required money, until such time as he shall enjoy his own again. He argues against any idea of raising the nominal value of the gold or silver coins extant, and deprecates the entire recoinage which would be necessary if the standard and alloy were altered. "S'il plaist au Roy sommer et deputer Tel de ses Conseillers ou autres quil luy plaira pour Entendre Briot sur la proposition et reiglement quil entend de proposer Concernant Les Monnoyes de Sa ã Majesté, au moyen duquel il fera veoir, que

conceiv'd the intended Project of enfeebling the Coin, would intrench very far upon the Honour, Justice and Profit of the King," &c., &c.

³⁰ Sir Edward Nicholas (1593-1669) was appointed Secretary of State by Charles I in 1641, and acted as one of the King's Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge (1644-5). He remained with Charles I until the surrender of Oxford in 1646, and then resided abroad until the Restoration, when he served Charles II in the same capacity until August, 1662.

³¹ MS. State Papers, Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. DXXXIX. No. 87. Without suggesting that experiments were made with the King's consent in a base coinage at York, I may call attention to the occasional occurrence of specimens of Hks. types 1 to 4 of inferior quality, whilst types 5 to 7 are usually remarkably fine. It is, however, not unlikely that the pieces of poorer metal are contemporary forgeries.

Legitimement et promptement il se trouvera personnes, qui feront des auances de Sommes nottables a Sa [~] Majesté pour Entrer en ses droicts Sans augmentation de prix, des Espèces de poid, d'jminution d'alloy et en se faisant le revenu annuel de Sa [~] Majesté sera haussé. Ausquels Sieurs Comissaires deputtez, Le [~] Briot fera Cognoistre plus particulièrement, Les Consequences et pertes que Sa [~] Majesté et Estats feront, en receuant La proposition a eux faicte pour augmenter le prix De L'or et de L'argent Ensemble L'jmpossibilité De L'Execution de la [~] proposition et La Longueur du Temps quil faut pour jouir du pretendu proffit, de la reffontte generale des monnoyes de tous les Roys Ses predecesseurs, et par la Supputation qui peust estre faite de la somme, dont Sa [~] Majesté peust profiter, en usant de Cette Extremitté N'Excedera de beaucoup, ce qui luy peust reuenir de bon En receuant L'advis du [~] Briot qui est un reiglement, Lequel sera juge juste, bon et raisonnable."

We have noticed that in the year 1640 a suggestion had been made and rejected for the issue of a debased shilling—three-quarters copper to one quarter only in silver—but this was not the first time during the reign of Charles that thoughts of altering the standard had been mooted, Buckingham being held responsible for a similar project in 1626.³² It is, perhaps, for this reason that the calendarer of the *State Papers Domestic* of Charles I has assigned, with a query, to an early

³² See Disraeli's *Life and Times of Charles I*, vol. i. pp. 194-5. Mr. Disraeli states that by the advice of Buckingham £60,000 worth of shillings, half silver and half alloy, were coined, but were recalled by the King on the advice of Mr. Robert Cotton, whose memorial on the subject dated September, 1626, was seen by Mr. Disraeli in the original MS. form, and must not be confounded with the protest of Roe in 1640.

date, *i.e.* 1628, certain undated documents referring to a proposed debasement of the coinage. These papers express at great length Briot's views on such matters. It has crossed my mind that possibly one at least of these protests would be more correctly placed somewhat later than 1628, because allusion is therein made to recent alterations in the French currency, and between the years 1636 and 1641 material changes took place in the Paris mint, whereas in 1628 no special reduction in money-values appears to correspond with a proclamation to which Briot refers as having been "newly made in France."³³ Indeed, so far as my small knowledge of French numismatics suggests, the radical alterations of 1636, which ultimately caused the reforms of 1640-1, would be more in consonance with a remark made by our engraver on the "raising of the prise of the monyes by a fourth part." Be this as it may, this document and another of the same nature,³⁴ although, perhaps, of the earlier indicated date, embody alternative schemes considered by Briot as permissible. He urged "that the forging of gold coins shalbee continued with the same finesse weight and value as it is at this present", but in the one argument³⁵ advised the King "to raise silver and to sheare it upon 66 peeces by the pound weight which are fower peeces of augmention in one pound weight", whilst in the second³⁶ he limits this computation to "Sixty fower shillings, which is the proportion of $12\frac{3}{4}$ of Silver to the Gold," but wishes "to make litle peeces

³³ MS. State Papers, Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. DXXIX. No. 97. The French edict had, it appeared, been registered at the "Court of Monnyes" without the consent of the "Chamber of Accounts."

³⁴ MS. State Papers, Carl. I, Vol. CXXIV. No. 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. DXXIX. No. 97.

of Mony cutt upon 66 to the pound weight as greatly necessary for the Comodiousness of the People and Trade." The concluding paragraphs of his extremely long arguments are directed against the state of the copper coinage which should, he thought, remain in the King's hands, and besides the making of the smaller silver coins "of 4. 3. 2. and 1 penny the pound weight being cutt upon 3^{li}-8^s-4 pennie," he advocates the use of "Brass or copper coine in peices of 2. 1. and a halfe-farding," suggesting that these "may be made six times more heavie and strong then the fardings w^{ch} now are currant and yett his Ma^{tie} may profit in it 33. in the hundred. The small Copper money ought not to come into greate payments but only is stablished by Sovereigne Princes for the buying of small Wares or giving of Almes." ³⁷

Without in any way believing that either of these two papers is the actual "proposition" which Briot in May, 1642, desired to lay before the King, I venture to think he perhaps wished to reiterate his calculations and to impress upon Charles that it was wiser, as he expressed it, "to remayne by the goodness of the Monyes as they goe at present, wth a conformity of price and sorts within his Ma^{ties} three Kingdomes, unto whom the glory, and to the Subiects the proffitt shall redound." ³⁸

On the other hand, Briot may have been anxious to suggest to Charles the advisability of opening country mints—of coining his own plate—of borrowing that of his supporters—especially of requesting the aid of the Universities ³⁹—for we shall see that shortly after

³⁷ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. CXXIV. No. 68.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. DXXIX. No. 97.

³⁹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 397, mentions the despatch by Charles of

communications had commenced between the King and his engraver these projects matured in the mind of Charles. May we not suppose that Briot was thinking of the College silver when in the French letter which I have quoted above he proclaimed his certainty that, were security given that the currency would remain pure, persons would be found who would advance considerable sums to enable his Majesty to regain his rights? ⁴⁰

But a truce to speculation: Briot's "proposition" was answered on May 6 from the city of York by Edward Nicholas, who desired the engraver's immediate presence to confer with the King. ⁴¹

The letter runs as follows: "Monsieur, Sa Ma^{te} me comãande Vous mander icy, le plustost que Vostre comãodit  le pourra permettre, et ce sur le Sujet de Vostre Lettre escrite a S.M. qu'Elle receut quelques iours passez, dont Vous ne manquerez sur la Notice qui vous en vient faicte par Mons^r Vostre bien affectionn    vous servir Edw. Nicholas—A York ce 6^{me} May 1642." "A Monsieur, Monsieur Briot. A Londres." On May 26, however, as Ruding ⁴² notices, a Commission was deputed

messengers to request plate from the University as being "when he was at Nottingham," and the date of his residence in that city as "from July 10th till about the middle of September" (see note 2 to above). The first letter from Charles I which I have seen on the subject is one of thanks on the reception of a consignment from Oxford, dated from "our Court at Beverly July 18th 1642" (see *Works of that Great Monarch and glorious Martyr Charles I*, published at the Hague, 1648, p. 191). A letter from the Mayor of Oxford, under date July 22, 1642, at Nottingham, refers to the "very ample testimonie the King had received in subscriptions from the University." We, however, note an order of Parliament on July 12, 1642, that the highways to Oxford should be watched, owing to the King's request to the Universities that plate should be sent to York.

⁴⁰ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. DXXXIX, No. 87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. CCCCXC, No. 33.

⁴² Ruding's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 395.

to inquire concerning the bullion in the Mint, and one of their number, Sir Walter Erle, the following day repeated to the House of Commons some information that he had consequently obtained from Monsieur Briot, the King's graver.⁴³ His presence at the Mint is therefore established, and in his report to the Commission he mentioned transactions at the Tower both of the 18th and 26th. We might, however, suppose that he made a hurried journey to York and had returned, but from the next letter despatched to the north it seems likely that indisposition had prevented his departure, for the State Secretary wrote on the 30th of the month begging him not to hurry his journey unduly.⁴⁴ "Monsieur," writes Sir Edward: "Je souhaite que la presente vienne encore a temp car ie viens de recevoir tout a cestheure celle de Mons^r Parkhurst du 25^{me} courant, par laquelle i'apprens v^{re} resolution de Vous mettre en chemin vers la Cour nonobstant la debilité qui Vous reste d'une derniere Maladie. C'est porquoy ie vous avise par celle cy que Sa Ma^{te} se passera pour apresent de l'occasion qu'Elle avoit pour vous employer icy : en sorte que pouvez demeurer, pour Vous bien remettre chez Vous, en la santé que je vous souhaite, estant Mons^r Vostre tres affectionné à vous servir Edw. Nicholas. A York ce 30 May 1642. Mons. Briot." This letter is addressed fully: "A Monsieur—Mons^r Briot, Graveur du Roy, en son logis dans la Tour de Londres," and clearly Nicholas was satisfied that the engraver was still in residence at the Tower Mint, not yet confiscated by the Parliament. This was indeed apparent rather later, for on June 21

⁴³ Commons' Journals, vol. ii. pp. 587 and 588.

⁴⁴ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. CCCCXC. No. 74.

another missive was despatched "To my verie good friend Mr. Briot, his Ma^{ties} Graver of his Mint, At his house in the Tower,"⁴⁵ Nicholas being, it seems, convinced that by this time convalescence was assured and a speedy departure would be possible. "Monsieur," writes the Secretary, "J'ay a ce matin receu comandem^t de Sa Ma^{te} de vous mander icy en toute diligence possible, et Vous avertir qu'avez a mener avec Vous les Roues et toutes autres sortes d'instrum^{ts} requis et necessaires pour icy battre de la Monnoye que S Ma^{te} aura occasion d'ordonner dez que vous serez arrivé. Ce qu'ayant notifié je me dis Mons^r Vostre tres affectionné serviteur Edw. Nicholas. A York ce 21^{me} Juin 1642. Mons. Briot."

On June 30 a further communication was sent to the same address to the effect that Sir William Parkhurst would provide money for the journey, and that the Secretary expected Briot's immediate attendance.⁴⁶ "Monsieur, J'ay par comandem^t du Roy escript a Mons^r Le Chevalier Parkhurst qu'il vous face avoir telle so^me de deniers en avance que vous sera necessaire pour expedier ce qui faudra aux provisions pour Vostre Voiage icy. Je ne veux douter donc de vostre bonne diligence pour vous rendre icy au plustost possible pourvû selon que la presente occasion le requiert. Entretant je me dis Monsieur Vostre bien affectionné à vous servir Edw. Nicholas à la Cour à York 30 Juin 1642. Monsieur Briot."

The next move in the game is to be recognized in a

⁴⁵ State Papers Domestic, Vol. CCCCXCI. No. 27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. CCCCXCI. No. 43. Addressed: "A Monsieur Briot, Graveur du Roy demeurant a la Tour de Londres."

long parchment roll—a statement of Mint accounts—undecipherable in parts, to which nevertheless Mr. Henry Symonds directed my attention, he having found many interesting pieces of information therein, of which he gave an abstract in his “Trials of the Pyx” and his “English Engravers.” This document contains entries of various disbursements carrying us up to, or in some cases beyond, November, 1642.⁴⁷

One of the payments chronicled in the Warden’s account is to “Nicholas Briot,” and amounts to £100 for some service performed in the autumn of 1642, but the obliterated state of the entry renders it useless, taken as evidence of the movements of the engraver on September 30, 1642, the day indicated by this Privy Seal, and it is impossible to say whether Briot was paid by order under the King’s hand for dies made for Charles I’s use in the country mints as we should deem likely at so late a date.⁴⁸ It is, however, clear that the Parliamentarians, although the Tower was in September, 1642, in their hands, recognized the obligations thrown upon them by the King’s orders, in spite of the fact that they speak of his authority in the past tense.

The same parchment mentions the disbursement in 1642 of £115 to “Thomas Richardson, clothworker, for

⁴⁷ Declared Accounts (Audit Office) Ble. 1599, No. 42. By an error in the calendar this account is printed as terminating in March, 1642, but Mr. Symonds discovered entries up to the month of November, after which time the manuscript becomes still more illegible.

⁴⁸ Declared Accounts (Audit Office), Ble. 1599, No. 42, at the Public Record Office. The few legible words run: “Nicholas Bryot . . . assist him in such (?) service as the late king expected to him perform” of him . . . by warrant under the Signe Manuel dated the 30th day of September 1642 for allowance thereof and signification under . . . of one of the Secretaries of State . . . 100^l.”

eleven iron presses for coinage of moneys and one great iron mortar and pestle by one bill, cxv^{li}.”⁴⁹

Whether these were instruments ordered by Briot under the authority of the letter from Nicholas to Parkhurst it is hard to say, but if so they would have suffered the same detention as the other objects “belonging to Minting and Coining Monies” at Scarborough, and it would be only fair that they should be paid for by the government. We must, however, remember that certain mills were made for the Tower Mint at Intervals, and we find reference to these “about the year 1633,”⁵⁰ and again in 1638, for Briot’s trial of skill, and in 1640 when the King required “five presses and other Instruments to be used about his Mats Coins, his Highnes having caused some alteraçon to be made in them.” The expenses of these presses reached £65, which sum was paid to Edward Greene, the chief graver,⁵¹ whilst £1700 was spent on setting up the apparatus for Briot. It is, therefore, somewhat doubtful how far Richardson was employed for the work at the ordinary mint establishment.

Another note in the roll refers to David Ramage, and may in part pertain to the ill-starred consignment sent to the King’s assistance, for we have seen by the Secretary of State’s letters that Briot was to bring or send instruments for coining with which York was evidently not sufficiently provided.

⁴⁹ Quoted by Mr. Symonds in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 367, and this writer takes the above as evidence that Briot’s appliances were used in 1642. With this opinion I am agreed, but I think it was more likely that the consignment was for York, where they would be required for the milled coinages. See *Num. Chron.*, as above.

⁵⁰ State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, May 7, 1651, Vol. XV. No. 69.

⁵¹ Declared Accounts (Audit Office), Ble. 1599, No. 42, 19th Aug., 1640.

Mr. Symonds has quoted this item in his "Trials of the Pyx,"⁵² and kindly showed it to me in the original Audit Office Accounts,⁵³ at the Record Office, that I might print it verbatim if I so desired. The words showing the payment made on July 7, 1642, are as follows: "David Ramagh for monies by him disbursed in providing several instruments for the two mints at Yorke and Shrewsbury, as by one bill dated the VII of July 1642 appeareth. $\frac{XX \text{ li. s.}}{IIIJ. V. X}$ [£85 10s.]." Now David Ramage was, as we know, custodian under the Commonwealth of the "mills, presses, cutters, and other engines for making monyes" at the Mint,⁵⁴ and was confirmed in this place by Charles II, and the plea that he had as above supplied the King in his necessity would no doubt be regarded as a reason for retaining his services after the Restoration.

He held, it seems, no official position at the Tower under Charles I, and we find Blondeau informing Parliament in June, 1650, that the Master of the Mint "hath brought in an Irish Lock Smith, one David Ramage a man ill-affected to the present Government, who hath been Servant formerly [to] the late deceased Master Briot, for whom he forged his tools and marked his Brass Counters."⁵⁵ Blondeau complained that the Mint Master had "caused the said Irish Smith to be associated with the workmen of the Mint," apparently in consequence of his knowledge of Briot's methods. We cannot enter here upon the differences between the milled coinages of Briot and Blondeau, but we see

⁵² *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X. p. 396.

⁵³ Audit Office Accounts, 1599-42.

⁵⁴ See Treasury Books, T. 51. 1. July 7, 1660.

⁵⁵ See Thomason Tracts, 669, f. 15 (38), Brit. Mus.

that at the time of the Civil War Ramage was only in the employ of the former, and held no official status, although he appears amongst the Moneyers in November, 1651, and again in 1652.⁵⁶ That Ramage, although worsted in his competition with Blondeau, obtained a post as superintendent of mills is seen from the confirmation under Charles II above noticed. But to us the important matter is that the payment given to Ramage in 1642 was evidently for instruments such as he was in the habit of making for Briot.

I am informed by Mr. Symonds that he has not—and neither have I—found his name in any list of officials of so early a date as the reign of Charles I, but he was obviously in the habit of supplying the instruments as required for this King, for a remonstrance framed by the wardens of the Mint in the commencement of Charles II's reign refers to his having so done.⁵⁷ It is stated that several sorts of engines, presses, mills, rollers, and other instruments for the fabric of his medals and Tryals for his monies "were ordered by Charles I" at great expense, and that the "Money Tryals not answering his Mat^ys expectation, Those Instruments were comitted after to the care of David Ramadge (the Artificer who made them) for preservation in the Mint." The wardens thought these tools were likely to encourage false coining unless kept for safety in the Tower, and objected "that since the late distempered tymes divers of those Instruments and Toolles have beene by warrants and other meanes comanded of out of the Mynt." It seems possible that Ramage—or, if not he, Parkhurst

⁵⁶ Thomason Tracts, E. 1070, 10, No. 2; and Henfrey, *Coins and Medals of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 63.

⁵⁷ State Papers Domestic, Carl. II, Vol. XXII. No. 182.

or some other—succeeded in sending some puncheons to Shrewsbury, for some rare pound and half-pound pieces (Hawkins, type 1) bear the same horse as we find on the Tower half-crowns, type 3A, mint-marks Portcullis to Star, a puncheon which was just going out of use, and would therefore be spared the more easily. I am not suggesting that they are the work of Ramage, having nothing in common with his known productions, whilst we know that Briot was the recognized designer of the obverses for the Tower coinage of 1628 onwards. The puncheons intended for the hammered coinage would be delivered to the mint and remain at the disposal of the Warden, in whosoever charge they might be, and the jurisdiction still lay in the hands of Parkhurst, who, as we know, was commissioned to supply the York Mint, and clearly “instrum^{ts}” for Shrewsbury were despatched at similar date.

About the beginning of July, then, the less fortunate shipload, carrying Briot’s personal baggage and heavy presses, started for Scarborough, and was held up on the 15th of the month by the Parliamentary patrol. Let us turn to the Commons’ Journals, and under date of July 23, 1642, we may read the matter in greater detail than in the version given by Carlyle.⁵⁸ “A letter,” so runs the report, “from Mr. Jo. Stevens, Captain of one of the ships of the Fleet now at Sea, and riding about Scarborough, of the 15th of July. Ordered that the Committee for the Navy do send for Monsieur Bryatt of the Minte, and examine the Business concerning the Materials belonging to the Minte sent by him and stayed at Scarborough by Captain Stevens:

⁵⁸ Commons’ Journals, Vol. II. p. 687.

and that they give order to Captain Steevens to detain them in his hands, till he receives further order from the House. Resolved, That Mr. Steevens, Master of the Ship that rides about Scarborough, that stayed the Materials of all Sorts belonging to the Mint (no Authority appearing for Transporting of them) has done well in Staying of them." From an entry commanding the attendance of Briot before the Committee, Ruding infers that he was at this moment—*i.e.* on Saturday, July 23—in London,⁵⁹ probably deeming that were it otherwise some notice would have been taken of his non-attendance, and also the remark that the words "*sent by him*" as applied to the mint material suggests that if he went north at all at this moment his presence escaped detection at this period, and he made his way back to London. Concerning this voyage we shall have more to say presently, but we have now reached the moment in the month of August, outlined by Carlyle at the beginning of our narrative, when on the 20th the order for the restoration of Briot's wearing apparel was issued by the Commons.⁶⁰ On July 23, 1642, a decree had been pronounced that thenceforward neither arms nor war material should be shipped from the Tower without the Lieutenant's permission,⁶¹ but curiously enough it was not until October 5 that the prohibition was formally extended to the Mint. Under this date we read: "Ordered that the Officers of the Minte be required not to suffer any Officer, Workman, or Instrument, belonging to the Minte, or Coining, or Graving to quit their Charge or to be carried from

⁵⁹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 397.

⁶⁰ Commons' Journals, Vol. II. p. 728.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II. pp. 687 and 689.

thence without order of this House.”⁶² It seems likely that this Parliamentary ukase was issued on the discovery that the King had sent for Parkhurst and other officers to attend him; but we have reason to believe that money would be considered as “War Material” at an earlier period.

The seizure of the Tower was now complete, so far as the King was concerned, for he could no longer obtain help thence, unless secretly. The sequestration of the royal estates and revenues followed after an interval, the ordinance of Parliament directing the spoliation being dated September 21, 1643,⁶³ but Mr. Symonds informs me that he has made extracts from an account furnished by a Parliamentarian receiver of mint revenues, which runs from November 25, 1642, and that from entries in this document it appears that the Mint was actually seized as from August 10, 1642.⁶⁴

From thenceforth therefore—certainly from the date of the above order of October 5—if Nicholas Briot supplied the King with dies he did so at considerable risk, and the question has been raised whether he abandoned his master or whether he, as tradition asserts, threw wife and children, habitation and salary, to the winds in pursuit of loyalty.

⁶² Commons' Journals, Vol. II. p. 795.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III. p. 250.

⁶⁴ On this day a Committee was appointed in the House of Commons to look after some monies which had been seized (see Commons' Journals, vol. ii. pp. 712-713). Nevertheless, so late as December 3, 1642, we still find the King's Gentleman of the Robes, George Kirk, appealing for £1000 out of coinage money in the Tower for the King's apparel. This sum had been authorized by Parliament, but by another order had been devoted to the expenses of H.M.'s children, who had remained in London, and had not been used for the King's robes. Hist. MSS. Comm. Report V., House of Lords MSS., p. 59.

In the light of recent discoveries it seems to me that he perhaps adopted a middle course, visiting the King by stealth only, under pretence perhaps of journeys to France in obedience to more than one summons, such as he had, we believe, received earlier from the *Cour des Monnaies* to be again repeated in these crucial years.⁶⁵ He might possibly supply the want of dies by means of a messenger or give a general superintendence to the mints of York and Oxford in flying visits, as he had done in Scotland, but as we shall presently see, he did not pass wholly undetected and he suffered for his loyalty.

Mr. Symonds was the fortunate discoverer of evidence concerning the engraver's last days, of his payment by the Mint authorities during the concluding nine months of his life, of the date of his last will and testament, of the place of his death and burial,⁶⁶ disposing once for all of the theory held until recently by myself and others that he died at Oxford actually at the Court of Charles.

⁶⁵ "Il revint en France peut-être en 1642, mais certainement en 1644. Le 2 Sep. 1642 [N.S.], Jean Varin et un certain Briot durent comparaître devant la Cour des Monnaies. . . . S'agit il de Nicolas Briot ou d'Isaac Briot, son frère? Le 20 (?) Avril [N.S.] 1644. Nicolas Briot, étant en discussion avec Jean Varin, est cité par la Cour des Monnaies" (Mazeroles's *Médailleurs*, vol. i. pp. cxxvii and cxxviii). Mr. Henfrey, in his *Numismata Cromwelliana*, p. 5, whilst quoting Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (vol. i. p. 256, edit. 1886) in support of the theory that Briot returned to France in 1642, discountenances that of George Vertue (*Medals, Coins, &c., of Thomas Simon*, edit. 1780, p. 61), that the year 1646 was that of his return, deeming the date to be "probably a misprint as Briot appears to have gone to France from Scarborough in 1642." Mr. Henfrey did not give his authority for this statement.

⁶⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X. p. 397. I understand by Mr. Symonds' courtesy that this payment of £37 10s. for three-quarters of a year at the annual fee of £50 appears in the Warden's account which runs from April 1, 1646, to March 31, 1647. The payment extends to December 25, 1646, the actual day of Briot's burial.

Mr. Symonds tells us that the engraver's will was dated a considerable time after the fall of the University city, *i.e.* on December 22, 1646, and that it was written in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London, but that no precise place of abode is mentioned, and finally, that Briot was buried in St. Martin's Church three days later. He further informed me that Briot desired to be interred in the parish wherein he might die, from which I think we may conclude that he did indeed suffer for his efforts in the King's cause, being turned out of his lodgings in the Tower. But the natural inference was drawn by Mr. Symonds that Briot, dying in the pay of the Parliament, the Government moreover paying to his widow eighteen months later an additional sum ⁶⁷ for his tools and presses, which remained at the Tower for the use of the Mint,⁶⁸ was the servant of the Commonwealth rather than of the King, and with this we are agreed.

When publishing some years ago his "Trials of the Pyx," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Mr. Symonds

⁶⁷ By warrant of June 17, 1646, the sum of £258 10s. for his mills, presses, and tools (see "Trials of the Pyx" in *Num. Chron.*, as above, p. 397).

⁶⁸ In 1656 when the milled coinage was attempted by Oliver Cromwell, Blondeau was at first allotted "that house in the Tower, where M. Biott formerly worked," and he was permitted the use of "all such forges and tools as are there." By his own choice, however, different premises were prepared for him (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v. p. 238). This matter of the mills used by Briot was already in discussion in May, 1651, the provost and company of moneyers suggesting on the 7th of that month that if £1000 were provided for repairs they made "no question of supplying" a milled coinage as "faire, beautiful and cheap as any Frenchman," alleging, however, that "it will require several mills and horses and houses to be sett up, the workhouses in ye mint being within these few years mightily decayed, the same being done in Briott's time about the year 1633 and the charges thereof cost seventeen hundred pounds before any Tryall could be made by the same Briott" (State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, Vol. XV. No. 69).

remarked upon the "regrettable gap" in the Warden's Mint accounts between 1642 and 1645, and although this hiatus was covered in many cases by those of the master-worker, the graver's fees which would have been paid by the Warden were unchronicled. However, in the light of the salary received in 1646 we felt bound to believe that Briot, after perhaps endeavouring to supply the needs of the King by starting obediently for York, was stopped at Scarborough, returned to London, and lived and died quietly in Government pay. Moreover, Mr. Symonds' research now affords the further information, kindly placed at my disposal, that the Warden's account from May 13, 1645, to March 31, 1646, discloses the fact that Briot, together with other officers, within that period received three and a quarter years' fee ending at Christmas, 1645, namely, £162 10s.; therefore although the accounts are missing for three years, Briot obtained his arrears when payments were resumed. The case against the engraver seemed complete; nevertheless tradition is at times a valuable adjunct to research, and tradition is in favour of Briot's loyalty. Besides, the evidence of the coinage in several instances is against the acceptance of the adverse theory unmodified. There are York half-crowns initialled with the letter B within the O of EBOR [Pl. XII. Fig. 1] which, by reason of their analogy with similar coins bearing mint-mark Star, Triangle in circle [Pl. XII. Fig. 2] and (P) at the Tower, should not be placed earlier than the year 1640—probably later, for the mint-mark Star shows several varieties. It is most likely upon this account that the type is catalogued as the last in the York series by Hawkins.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Hawkins type 7, Fig. 498, but the initial passes unnoticed by this author. The type with the horse's tail visible between its legs

There are York shillings [Pl. XII. Fig. 3]⁷⁰ with the same signature and type of reverse, and on these the bust almost exactly reproduces Briot's special coinage with the mint-mark Anchor [Pl. XII. Fig. 4] forming a connecting link between these beautifully engraved coins and the Tower issues of about the same period, the latter being, however, noticeably less well executed.

There are Oxford coins bearing the rather peculiar horse first designed by Briot on some of his patterns and used in his London and Scottish coinages,⁷¹ whilst the Tower issues after the outbreak of the Civil War show a very diverse collection of dies, especially as regards the half-crowns and shillings, and, excepting in spasmodic instances, a lamentable decrease in technical proficiency in the reproduction of established types. Here again Mr. Symonds comes to our rescue, for we learn from his *English Mint Engravers*⁷² that

prevailed on half-crowns at the Tower upon coins marked with the Star, Triangle in circle, and in rare instances with (P), but on the crowns we find it in (P), (R), and Sun, until it is replaced with the last-mentioned mint-mark by the type usually attributed to Simon (Hks. type 5). It appears, therefore, that these York half-crowns cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 1640, at the very soonest. I may note that of the Tower Mint I have seen but one half-crown bearing this York horse with the mint-mark (P), that in the British Museum. We may, therefore, assume that the smaller horse, which had been in evidence until the introduction of the Star mint-mark in July, 1641, resumed its sway about 1644 upon the half-crowns.

⁷⁰ The busts upon the York shillings, Hks. type 4 and 5, reproduce Briot's type 2. Some of the shillings assigned by Hawkins to an earlier date are connected with the Briot issues by the reverse, having a cross extending to the edge of the coin like Briot's Hks. type 1. The coins numbered by Hks. in shillings 1 to 3, in half-crowns 1 to 4, are less well designed than the later types, and the busts and equestrian figures have no such prototypes at the Tower.

⁷¹ Besides the Oxford series of half-crowns dated 1643 to 1646, there is in the British Museum a solitary pound-piece of this type bearing date 1643.

⁷² *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII., p. 367.

Nicholas de Burgh, John Decroso, and Abraham Preston were temporarily employed at the Tower at various dates between 1641 and 1644, John East being still under graver, whilst Edward Greene, the official chief graver of many years' standing, died towards the end of the last-mentioned year.⁷³ The coinage at Oxford presents more difficulties, if we attempt to judge by style, than does that of York, for not only have we to dismiss from our mind the peculiar method of striking which we are accustomed to associate with the name of Briot, but we have a formidable rival in artistic merit with whom to contend in Thomas Rawlins. Uncertainty haunts our steps when we endeavour to draw a line between his work and that of Briot, for portraiture, which should be our surest test, fails us, in that identical medals were made by these two artists whilst the King was at Oxford in 1643, the only difference being in the artists' initials under the bust.⁷⁴ It is believed that the taking of

⁷³ Simon was at this time also working at the Mint, but his attention appears to have been principally absorbed in making seals. His official appointment as maker of coins is of April 4, 1645.

⁷⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. pp. 308-309, Nos. 134, 135, and 136, dated 1643. We notice that No. 135, as catalogued in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, is not signed, but a similar example in the Hunter cabinet has . W . below the bust, and I think a trace of the signature in this form can be made out on the Museum specimen. We find some of Briot's dies still in use after his death (see *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 336, Nos. 179 and 180, and p. 309, No. 136), some reverses bearing date 1648 (p. 336, No. 179), and even 1660 (p. 309, No. 136), but marks of rust on these prove that the dies had been laid aside for the time, whilst I venture to think the undated pieces (see No. 180) belonged originally to the issues of 1643. The earlier issues, known in *Medallic Illustrations* as "Peace or War," are therein referred to the period of the "taking of Bristol in consequence of the King's expression of his wish for peace as opposed to these miserable bloody distempers, which, as he informed his Council, "have disquieted this poor kingdom" (see Clarendon's *History*, 1843, p. 411). On the other hand, another likely occasion of yet earlier issue may have

Bristol by Prince Rupert on July 27 of that year was commemorated by these "Peace or War" medals. If this indeed be the date and occasion of this medal rather than the previous April when terms of peace were debated and rejected, we must remember that Rawlins produced also two other very poor medals⁷⁵ in commemoration of the reduction of Bristol, and their extreme rarity suggests that the King did not like the portrait, and choosing Briot's design made Rawlins copy the work of his senior. These medals may, I think, be taken as evidence that whilst Rawlins was working steadily in Oxford in 1643, Briot either paid one of his flying visits to the King about the middle of that year or supplied his master with dies from London.

It is not my intention, however, at present to say more than I can help concerning Rawlins, but we cannot discuss the Oxford currency without reference to his signed coinage of 1644 to 1646, and the impression that he served the King from the beginning of Charles I's residence in the University is suggested by the multitude of badges which, during the Civil War, occupied the place of the war medals of to-day. This belief is further strengthened by a badge in my own collection which bears date 1642.⁷⁶

Mr. Symonds has shown that the initialled coinage of Oxford was followed instead of being preceded by an official appointment as "Chiefe Graver to his Ma^{ties}

been the meeting at Oxford to discuss a treaty, the King on April 12, 1643, making a communication to the Parliamentary delegates of his readiness to cease hostilities (see Clarendon, as above, p. 379).

⁷⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 307, Nos. 131-132.

⁷⁶ This badge, although unsigned, is so much like one of Rawlins' other medallions, that it is almost impossible to assign it to any other artist.

mints in the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales" under a sign manual of April, 1645,⁷⁷ some months after the death of Edward Greene, who, although in the Parliamentary employ, originally held his appointment from the King. This Privy Seal, with its grant to Rawlins of a position, which, as Mr. Symonds points out, it was no longer in the power of Charles to bestow, was probably the only reward he could offer him, and was rather a guarantee of past services than an actual gift of present preferment.

Not unnaturally the office of chief graver was almost simultaneously filled by the decree of King and Parliament, for the letters patent granted by the latter⁷⁸ bestowing the post upon Edward Wade and Thomas Simon in lieu of "Edward Green deceased" are dated April 4, 1645,⁷⁹ and possibly the King, having learned of these changes at the Tower, endowed Rawlins with the title of chief graver as a protest.

We know not where Rawlins first fell in with Charles, nor whether he was an amateur throwing in his lot with the King as did so many of the cultured youth of the day. He had already distinguished himself as a playwright and man of letters, his proficiency as a writer being acknowledged some years before the outbreak of the Civil War.⁸⁰

We have no evidence to prove that he had fallen in

⁷⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 369.

⁷⁸ It appears from contemporary evidence brought forward by Mr. Symonds from the Pipe Office Accounts that Nicholas de Burgh temporarily filled the office after Greene's death until the appointment of Simon and Wade was made.

⁷⁹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1st Ser., Vol. IV. p. 14, and 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 368. Edward Greene died shortly before Christmas, 1644.

⁸⁰ It is believed that Rawlins produced his play, *The Rebellion*, in 1637, although it was not published until 1640.

with Thomas Bushell, the mine-owner and mint-master, and came to Oxford with the latter on his removal of the Shrewsbury mint to the University town; rather the contrary, for he can hardly be held responsible for the unfortunate quadruped which appears on most of the Shrewsbury and Oxford coins at this early date. We do, however, believe that Rawlins was with Bushell before the year 1642, according to the old style of reckoning, had expired, for the pound-piece coined at the latter city (Hks. type 4)⁸¹ bears this date together with an admirably delineated horse much resembling the signed crown of 1644 with Oxford in the background. We must, therefore, rather attribute the ugliness of the early Oxford equestrian figure in general to the fact that Rawlins's activity was employed in making badges, a somewhat lengthy process, in that they were cast and usually chased, and consequently required the supervision of the artist. By the help of these badges, some of which bear excellent equestrian portraits, and of his signed coins of 1644 to 1646, it seems possible to identify his part in the coinage, assigning to his credit the superior pieces both in gold and silver from the three-pound downwards, beginning, with the exception of the silver twenty-shilling piece just mentioned, in the year 1643. Our first official notice that Rawlins was engraver of coins lies in a warrant addressed to him on June 1, 1643, concerning a gold badge to be presented to Sir Robert Walsh, who had distinguished himself at Edgehill in the previous October. Rawlins

⁸¹ This pound-piece bears a Shrewsbury reverse, but the obverse has the Oxford plume. We must therefore assume it is of early Oxford issue. This equestrian portrait is carried forward throughout 1643 and 1644 with fresh reverses, see Hks. types 5 and 7.

is therein addressed as "our trusty and wellbeloved graver of Seals, Stamps and Medals." I lay stress upon this point, because on going to the Herald's College to examine this grant, I found that the word "stamps," *i.e.* dies, appeared in the original document, and had been accidentally omitted by another writer, who had published the warrant.⁸² With regard to lettering a curious anomaly presents itself, and were it invariable we might find in it a clue, for on much of the Oxford coinage beginning in the course of the year 1643, after the change for the better had commenced, we notice a peculiar closed serif in the letter R, generally in the word Rex, and often throughout the legend. It has the appearance of a monogram, although less definitely than the mint-mark on certain coins upon which some discussion has been raised concerning their attribution to Bristol or to St. John's College, Oxford.⁸³

Our first idea was that Briot might have used this closed

⁸² See article on the "Medal presented to Sir Robert Walsh," *Num. Chron.*, 1st Ser., Vol. XV. pp. 80-81.

⁸³ The R with the closed serif is not found in the legend of the specimens where the monogram is used as a mint-mark, and they bear an ugly horse, such as that in use at Oxford until 1643 only. Whether the removal of this engraver's dies to Bristol, or the desire to set them aside for a particular issue at Oxford, gave rise to the substitution of Briot's horse, is a question which it boots not to renew here, but half-crowns exist with a horse of the early Oxford type on the obverse, combined with a reverse bearing the R monogram as mint-mark, and when new puncheons were made with a slightly differing equestrian figure, we observe that it is still of the same coarse workmanship and clumsy drawing as though from the hand of the same engraver. It is apparent from a manuscript in the British Museum that Bushell was "at great charge in Repairing the Castle [at Bristol] and setting up a mint therein." The expense incurred by him in so doing amounted to £1000, and, giving my opinion for what it is worth, it seems natural to assign his removal to a period shortly after the capture of the city, *i.e.* in the late autumn of 1643.

serif in the legend giving to the B the appearance of a monogram just as he enclosed his initial within the O of EBOR or frankly placed it on his London milled coinage. But this may hardly be, for it is noticeable on the Oxford Pattern crown signed by Rawlins, who for such a personal exhibition of his skill would hardly employ a lettering denoting partnership with another. We might just as easily suggest that this composite letter stood for the partnership of Bushell and Rawlins, Bushell as mint master, Rawlins as chief graver, but such dates as we possess concerning Bushell's movements are indicative of his moving to Bristol just as this strangely shaped R first meets our eye, also we must notice that the closed serif is not upon any of the war-badges which Rawlins first designed at the suggestion, and in some cases, if not all, at the expense of Bushell.⁸⁴ It is true that lettering is often a help in determining to what artist a coin is likely to be attributable, and we notice in the later half-crowns at Oxford a certain shaping of the letter A, a frequent use of a lozenge and of rosettes and stops which, unlike the closed serif, are reminiscent of Briot's most careful early coinage. This fact suggests that not only were the puncheons for the equestrian figure from his hand, but that he also engraved the pattern dies or at least that tools from his workshop were in use. It is, however, not wise to lay much stress on this point, for the lettering is not invariable, and was probably rather the fashion of the

⁸⁴ Amongst the services enumerated by the King in a testimonial to Thomas Bushell under date June 12, 1643, Charles mentions "yor invention for or better knowinge and rewardinge the Forlorne Hope with Badges of Silver at y^r own Chardge, when the souldiers were readie to run away through the instigation of some disaffected persons" (see Harl. MS., Charters 111, B. 61).

moment than the exclusive hall-mark of the man. It is, moreover, rare to find the silver coins in such condition as would enable us to judge fairly of the engraver's proficiency, especially as regards the half-crowns, and I must reluctantly admit that I have never seen a specimen of this denomination at Oxford, in which one could recognize the precision of his workmanship.

Oxford was, as York had been at first, but badly provided with implements for coinage upon a large scale, such as was demanded by the melting of the College plate. The King, shortly after the seizure of the cargo, which had been intended to facilitate his coining operations in the north, had, on setting up his standard at Nottingham on August 22, 1642,⁸⁵ sent requests to Oxford and Cambridge for contributions in plate, and receiving the same, again sent "secret orders" to the officers of the Mint "to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should find a place convenient."⁸⁶ Sir William Parkhurst, the Warden of the Mint, obeyed the King's summons, and to his superintendence, in co-operation with Thomas Bushell as joint master, was committed the Oxford mint—set up at New Inn Hall on January 3, 1642-3, a considerable time having

⁸⁵ This date is usually accepted as that of the setting up of the Standard, being that given by Rushworth (edit. 1708, vol. iv. p. 503); by Lilly the astrologer (see *Tracts of the Civil War*, vol. i. pp. 176-177); and by Gardiner in his *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. i. p. 1. Charles appointed this day as a rendezvous in a proclamation written from York on the 12th of August (see *Works of Charles I*, vol. ii. p. 102). Clarendon says that the King arrived two or three days before he had appointed to set up the standard," and he did so on the 25th "at about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day," that it was blown down, and "could not be fixed again in a day or two till the tempest was allayed" (*History of the Rebellion*, edit. 1843, pp. 288-289).

⁸⁶ Clarendon, edit. 1843, p. 301, where the account is given of plate arriving at Nottingham from both Universities.

elapsed since the arrival of Charles, who had reached the University city on October 29. Thomas Bushell, whose mint at Aberystwith, in operation since 1637, had produced a weekly output of some £68,⁸⁷ carried his experience and, so far as in him lay, his help to the King at Shrewsbury, but Clarendon notes that even there, although bullion came in, the coining operations were delayed. "Such proportions of Plate and Money," says the historian of *The Rebellion*, "were voluntarily brought in, that the army was fully and constantly paid. The King having erected a Mint at Shrewsbury, more for reputation than use (for, for want of workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a week) and causing all his own plate, for the service of his household to be delivered, thus made other men think, theirs was the less worth preserving."⁸⁸

This small apparatus, then, reached Oxford on January 3, and so early as the 6th we have records of the King's orders to All Souls' College to deliver plate to Parkhurst and Bushell at the rate of five shillings per ounce "white silver" and five shillings and sixpence per ounce "gilt silver,"⁸⁹ "to be repaid," as the unfortunate monarch sanguinely promised, "when God shall enable us."⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "A Glance inside the Mint of Aberystwith," by Henry Symonds, in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii. p. 205, where the average weekly output between January, 1638, and September, 1642, is calculated at £68 1s. 5d. by tale.

⁸⁸ Clarendon, p. 305; see also Hawkins' *Silver Coins*, p. 320.

⁸⁹ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 206. We must note that the first instalments of College plate are thought by Ruding to have been minted at York (see Ruding, pp. 209 and 232), but all the bullion despatched did not reach the King (see Commons' Journals, August 22, 1642, vol. ii. p. 731). "The Plate belonging to Maudlyn College in Cambridge stayed as it was going to Yorke to promote the war against Parliament shall be forthwith brought to London," &c., &c.

⁹⁰ The same form was employed in asking for plate from St. John's

Not only was the Oxford mint called upon to melt the cups and platters of the Colleges, but, judging from a testimonial given by Charles to Bushell, such foreign money as was contributed to the royalist cause had to be converted into English currency.⁹¹ This document, amongst the benefits for which the King thanks Bushell, mentions particularly that of "yr changinge the dollars with w^{ch} we paid o^r Souldiers at Six Shillings a peece, when the Malignant partie cried them downe to five." The value of the dollar fluctuated somewhat, and judging from the specimens I have had the opportunity of weighing, the issues of this period did not reach an ounce in weight, but older pieces sometimes turned the scales at 490 grains; if, therefore, Bushell was enabled partly to recoup himself by means of the heavier examples in recoinng the money, we can believe his allegation that the loss he sustained "For changing £8000 dollars from 6s. to 5s. p. Dollar" was £300—a computation otherwise somewhat puzzling as the difference should be nearer £400 than £300.⁹² Not being able to ascertain at

College, Oxford (see *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X. p. 204). Parliament, beforehand with the King in requesting contributions, had on June 10, 1642, offered that those who should lend plate or ready money to them "shall have their money repaid with Interest according to Eight Pounds per cent. and the full value of their Plate with Considerations for the Fashion, not exceeding one Shilling per ounce . . . and for this both Houses of Parliament do engage the Public Faith" (see Commons' Journals, vol. ii. p. 618). I have seen at the Record Office (State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. CCCXC. No. 26) a receipt for one of these loans dated June 20, 1642.

⁹¹ British Museum MS., Harleian Charters, 111, B. 61. Mr. Wroth, in his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, gives extracts from this testimonial, which is also published in Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Ser., vol. iii. p. 309.

⁹² A crown or 5s. piece weighs on an average 460 grains; the ounce of silver was, as we have seen, valued at 5s., and weighed 480 grains. The average dollar from 1624 to 1630, as found in the National Collection,

what moment the Parliament effected this manœuvre to hamper Charles in the use of foreign money, I referred to another Harleian document, Bushell's own statement of his claims after the Restoration, and find amongst the many testimonies given by Parkhurst and others to his loyalty, "that at Shrewsbury he was at a charge of about 300*l.* for changing Dollers, by his Ma^{ts} appointment and proclamation."⁹³ The Queen had probably sent over the dollars from Holland, whither she had journeyed on February 23, 1641-2, to escort her little daughter Mary to the Dutch husband, to whom she had been married in the previous May. Young William II generously supported his father-in-law's cause, and when Henrietta returned to England in February, 1642-3, he advanced her £1,200,000. The Queen had taken jewels to pawn to supply the King's immediate needs, but it is obvious that the large quantity of dollars arriving in 1643 would have to be treated as bullion by the King at Oxford and by the Queen at York, whither she almost immediately repaired on landing."⁹⁴

I cannot pause here to tell in detail of Bushell's many services to the King. He not only provided

turns the scale at 420 grains, the preceding issue, on the other hand, came out at 490 grains. In the reign of Anne it was decided not to recoin the dollars taken at Vigo, because they passed at 5*s.* 9*d.*, and if melted did not realize 5*s.* 6*d.* in bars (see Treasury Papers, Vol. LXXXIX. No. 32).

⁹³ Harl. 6833, f. 71b, Brit. Mus., letter from Sir William Parkhurst to the Lord High Treasurer under date 16th March, 1662. Parkhurst states that the various services performed by Bushell without remuneration cost him £36,000.

⁹⁴ March 7, 1642-3. "The Queen came to York, attended by the Duke of Richmond," &c., &c. . . . after "staying about a Fort-night at Bridlington to refresh herself" (see Christopher Hildyard's *Antiquities of York*, edit. 1664, p. 54). She had left Holland on February 25, and encountered very bad weather. She remained at York until June 1.

Charles with "a thousand stoute Myners in tenn days time, for his said Mats. Life Guarde," but dissuaded another 2000 men from going over to the side of the Parliament in Yorkshire.⁹⁵

By the sight of his mint and "the store of Plate and Bullion, which he procured," he prevailed on the army to encounter the enemy at Edgehill, distributing coins at his own expense, but in the King's name at Wolverhampton, "with a motto on the Reverse to show, what they fought for, which soe incouraged them when pay was wanting, that the next Day they gott the Field."⁹⁶

He fortified the castles of Bristol and Lundy at a cost of £1000 for each place, "repayring" the first, and in the case of the latter building "a Chapell and Castle from the ground." He established a mint actually within the castle in the midst of Bristol, which he supplied with pure silver from his own mine "to equall the allay of soldered plate . . . to uphold his Majestie's Standard,

⁹⁵ Bushell not only provided the Forlorn Hope medals at his own expense at a cost of £100 (see p. 201, note 84), but gave 3600 pounds of tobacco when there was a difficulty about the men's pay, and frequently provided the clothing of entire regiments (see Harl. 6833, Brit. Mus.).

⁹⁶ Bushell's own statement (Harl. 6833). According to another deposition made by Richard Nichols, a London moneyer under Charles II, who was in the employ of Bushell at Shrewsbury, Oxford and Bristol, we must not confuse these gifts with the medals given for the Forlorn Hope, although in parts of the MS. they are spoken of as "a Medail of Silver with a motto" or "a medaile of 20s.," &c. Nichols says Bushell presented "each Colonel with a twenty shilling piece of Gold and all other officers ten or five and every Comon Soldier half a Crowne with this mottoe upon the band Cross in the Middle vizt (Relig. Protest. Leg. Ang. Libert. Parliam.) that the Enemy might know ye Cause to bee Just and what they faught for, as well as themselves find money in their pocket, which prudent policy gaue them all such Content coming from a Kings gift as if they had had ye whole of their arrears paid." Bushell gives the legend as *Religo Prot Legi Angli* Libert Parlia, but we have found no coin reading exactly thus.

... until the Parliament had ceased his Mynes" in Wales.⁹⁷

The date of the Bristol coinage is not specified more precisely, neither have I been able to ascertain exactly when the seizure of the Welsh mines rendered his active co-operation impossible; but the evidence of one Pigott, a Major in Lord Inchiquin's Irish contingent of troops, proves that Bushell there clothed his and Lord Broghill's regiments in the year 1643, whilst another order to the same effect is addressed by the King "to our trusty and well beloued Thomas Bushell Esqre, one of the Wardens of our Mint at Bristoll," so late as May 17, 1644.⁹⁸

If we assume that Bushell removed the dies of poor design so soon as the castle was ready for the reception of his mints, we should be inclined to think that the year 1643 was drawing towards its close, for the inferior quadruped on the half-crown is commoner at Oxford than its successor with the "Briot horse." Bristol was in the hands of the Royalists from July 26, 1643, to September 11, 1645; but before the time when Rupert evacuated the stronghold, Bushell had shut

⁹⁷ Parkhurst states that but for the £100 weekly sent to Bushell "out of Wales in Cakes, for a Long time we could hardly have made money at Shrewsbury and Oxford for after he caried his silver to Bristol I was forced," writes Sir William, "to refine much soldered plate to uphold his Majestie's Standard." By Bushell's own showing the fine silver weekly supplied by him in 1642, 1643, and 1644 to the mints of "Salop [*i.e.* Shrewsbury] Oxford and Bristol" amounted in the end to £15,000.

⁹⁸ The King on November 10, 1643, accepted the offer made by Lord Taaffe that 2000 Irishmen should be sent over. The first Irish contingent was defeated by Fairfax on January 25, 1643/4, and by Thomas Pigott's evidence it appears that "1000 suites of cloathes" were delivered for the use of his regiment in the course of the year 1643. Inchiquin, Pawlett, and others give similar testimony (see Harl. 6833, Brit. Mus.).

himself up in Lundy Island, which he defended for three years. One of the conditions offered in January, 1645-6, for its surrender—a bait rejected by him until September, 1647, more than a year after he had received permission from the King to capitulate—was that his mines should be restored to him by the Parliamentarians, but how long they had been in the hands of his enemies is not clear.

But our interest in Bushell and his probable transference of his dies to Bristol has carried us too far from the earlier working of the Oxford mint, and we must close our recital of the benefits he conferred on Charles by a quotation from the King's testimonial—special thanks being due to the proprietor of the Aberystwith mines for "supplyinge us at Shrewsburie and Oxford with y^r mint for the payment of our armie when all the officers in the Mint of o^r Tower in London forsook their Attendance except S^r William Parkhurst." ⁹⁹

We might be inclined to assume from the above that Briot was not with the King in the beginning of the war, for the medals figuring the Sword and Olive Branch, symbolical of "War and Peace" (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. pp. 308-309, Nos. 135-136), present the first signed indication we have of his working for Charles during the monarch's residence in the University town in 1643, and in 1642 we have no evidence of his handiwork at Oxford. We know, however, that he had already endeavoured to send puncheons to York at the desire of Charles; possibly the non-arrival of the cargo

⁹⁹ Harl. Charters 111, B. 61. We learn, moreover, from Harl. MS. 6833, that Bushell brought with him out of Wales to Shrewsbury his "Mint, Instruments and Moneyers, when neither men nor Toolcs could bee had from London."

diminished the monarch's appreciation of his services in the north. The letter to Bushell, dated from Oxford June 12, 1643, moreover precedes the capture of Bristol by a short period, but is an indication that he was about to start on one of the expeditions on which the King from time to time employed him. So much uncertainty is attached to the movements of all these persons that it seemed well to me to examine more carefully two petitions which were put forth by Briot's widow, the one mentioned by the late Mr. Henfrey in his medallic history of Oliver Cromwell,¹⁰⁰ the other of later date, which I had cursorily read some years ago, when the matter of Briot's loyalty had not been called in question, and which I then quoted in abstract from the Calendars of State Papers, in the *British Numismatic Journal*.¹⁰¹

The petition to the Protector throws little light on the subject, for it reads but briefly: "Hester Briott relict of Nich. Briott ref^d.¹⁰² Her Husband serv^t to ye late K. in ye Mint had his patent for 250^l p. ann. 2800^l due at his death whereof litle rec^d. Prays a considerable sum in Lieu therof or competent pension till discharged, 22 Jan (1655-6) submitted." ¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ *Numismata Cromwelliana*, Appendix, p. 224, note 2 to page 3, line 7, "We find among the Abstracts of Interregnum Petitions in the Public Record Office mention of a petition to the Protector from Hester Briot, relict of Nich. Briot, dated the 22nd of January 1655-6. It states that £2806 was due to Briot at his death and his widow prays a considerable sum in lieu thereof or a competent pension till discharged." I think £2806 is a misprint for £2800, for so the last figure reads in the original State Papers.

¹⁰¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v., "Portraiture of the Stuarts," part i. p. 186.

¹⁰² The abbreviated word "ref^d" here introduced means, of course, "referred," this petition being marked as "submitted," although no indication is given of the Protector's decision.

¹⁰³ State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, I. Vol. 92, No. 448.

We may assume that Oliver turned a deaf ear to the widow's appeal, for it comes again before us at the Restoration—the sum then demanded being just so much larger as to imply that Esther¹⁰⁴ had asked the Protector only for the overdue salary; but in her request to the son of the late King she added the price of services privately performed for the latter.

Endeavouring, then, to sift at the Public Record Office the grounds on which the widow based her undated petition to Charles II, I found it so interesting that I think I may be excused for quoting the entire manuscript verbatim, for we shall find proofs that the foreigner was more loyal to the monarch of his adoption than were many of Charles I's own subjects.¹⁰⁵

"To the King's most Excellent Majesty. The humble Petition of Esther Briott the Relict of the deceased Nicholas Briott Sheweth

"That yo^r Pet^{rs} late Husband was a Servant to the late King yo^r Majesty's Royall ffather of blessed memory, for the space of 25 years, both as Maker of his Effigies and great Seales, and as chief Graver of his Maty^s Mint

¹⁰⁴ Esther (or as she is called in the Interregnum Papers, Hester) Briot was the second wife of our artist, married in 1611. He married firstly Pauline Nisse, who died in 1608 (see Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*, and Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, p. cxxviii). Esther was the daughter of James Pintaut (sometimes spelt Petau), and I am kindly informed by Mr. Symonds, who has made notes concerning Briot's will, dated December 22, 1646, that he left her his sole heir, subject to legacies to the children of his deceased son "Phillip," and to the testator's other children, the payment to the two youngest of these being dependent on the discharge of the King's debt (see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 4, Vol. X., "Trials of the Pyx," p. 397). Philippe was the eldest son, and we find him giving evidence in Paris in 1628 of his father's employment in England, whence he himself had just returned (Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, p. 485).

¹⁰⁵ State Papers Domestic, Carl. II, Vol. LV. No. 100.

of England, for w^h his Mat^y allowed him the yearly salary of 250^{li}.

“That during the late Warres, he not only continued in his Loyalty to his Ma^{ty}, for w^{ch} he suffered very much, and lost all his fortune, but even in the worse of times, as long as he lived, he from time to time did goe to York, and Oxford at his Ma^{ty}’s commaund (and during his absence the Mint Tools were seised upon out of the Ship and his Wife and Children thrown out of their dwelling in the Tower [?]) and notwithstanding, with very great danger to his person, he furnished still the Mint at Oxford, with the necessary Stamps and Puncheons, as it is well known both to S^r Edward Nicholas and to S^r Wm. Parkhurst.

“That the said Briott dying in the yeare 1646, left y^r Pet^r in a very disconsolate condition, who hath ever since been forced to live with her children,¹⁰⁶ a poore Widdow and Stranger, in an indigent estate, under many straights and wants, not having been able to gett satisfaction for 3000^{li} that then remained due by his Ma^{ty} to her sd husband for his Wages and are unpayd toe this day.

¹⁰⁶ Besides Philippe (who was most likely the son of the first wife, since he appeared to be independent of his father so early as 1628), the will mentions Esther, married in Scotland, therefore probably the wife of Falconer the Master of the Scottish Mint; Anne, also married, and Judith and Theodore, evidently still residing with their mother. At least one other son must have existed, for one Vasson, in evidence before the *Cour des Monnaies* in 1628, said that on Christmas Day, 1626, he took some shoes home to Briot, then resident in London, and that “il vit aussy avecq ledit Bryot l’un de ses fils, non pas l’ainé ni le plus jeune.” Whether Theodore was the youngest here mentioned, or was born later in England, is not apparent, but I have not found his name amongst the baptismal registers of the French Protestant Church in London, published by the Huguenot Society, so that it is likely he was born before Briot’s journey to England. Judith acted as witness at a christening at the above church in November, 1640.

"And that yo^r Pet^r is now informed that y^r Ma^{ty} hath been graciously pleased to order the paying of a certaine proportion to all his said late Mat^{y's} Servants, for supplying of their present necessittys.

"Yo^r Pet^r therefore doth most humbly pray yo^r Mat^y graciously to be pleased in commiseration of her sad condition, and of her great age (being now above 72 years old) to commande that her name be inserted in the List of those of his Ma^{ty's} Servants, whom yo^r Maty intends now to be relieved: Or else to give order that she may have a present reliefe, and that a Pension bee given her yearly for her subsistence as yo^r Maty shall think fitt, the same to be deducted out of the said Summe of 3000^l due, as aforesaid, to her said late husband.

"And yo^r Pet^r will ever pray as in duty bound," &c.

Unfortunately the petition is undated, but we may, I think, assume that the calendarer is correct in cataloguing it to the early Restoration period, and its exact date is immaterial, the reference to Sir Edward Nicholas rendering it likely that it was put forth before August, 1662, when he retired from office.¹⁰⁷ That which is far more regrettable is that I personally have been unable to discover in the *State Papers* any response proving that the widow's claims were admitted, but the late Mr. Wroth, a thoroughly reliable authority, in his article on Briot in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that Esther's name "was one of those, which were ordered to be placed on the list for relieving the servants of Charles I."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ This petition is calendared in abstract in the *State Papers Domestic*, 1661-1662, p. 383, amongst a number of miscellaneous petitions, mostly of May, 1662.

¹⁰⁸ Mr. Forrer, in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, also assumes that the

This is much in favour of the petitioner's veracity, for Charles II was unable, although willing, to meet the many demands made upon him at the Restoration, when he was obliged not only to return to his father's adherents such of the sequestered estate as he could restore, but also to leave in possession those who had replaced him in power.

In calling her husband "chief Graver of his Mat^{ys} Mint of England," Madame Briot arrogated to him a position which belonged rightly to Edward Greene, but as his patent from the King entitled him to usurp the privileges of his official chief the expression may well pass muster. It is but lately that the terms of the grant made to Briot have come to our ears, through the fortunate discovery by Mr. Symonds of the particulars published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.¹⁰⁹

This patent carrying the permission to make "the first designs and effigies of the king's image . . . to be put into the hands of our engraver, thereby to conform the work together," was exclusively limited to the obverse design, clear evidence that it was from the King's desire to encourage an artistic style of portraiture alone that he offered so large a salary. It is probable that had Briot obtained the place of "mr workman" which as I find in the State Papers he at one time craved, he would have made special terms with his sovereign, and the £250 might have been withdrawn, for Windebank,

arrears were indeed paid, following no doubt the authority of Mr. Wroth.

¹⁰⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII., "English Mint Engravers," pp. 364-365, giving reference to Patent Roll, 4 Carl. I, Part 11. m. 5. We may also note that the Scottish documents designate Briot as "Chief grauer to his Majestie in the Mynt in England" (Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 52).

the Secretary of State, noted that our engraver was disposed to be more moderate than others "that shall stand for the place." He mentions that Briot was ready "to p̃duce sufficient and able men for the seruice" and had "lately deliuered to the King at Greenwich by his Mats expresse command certayne notes concerning the mr workman's place and fabrications of his Mat^s Mint upon conditions for his Ma^{ts} benefitt and advantage."¹¹⁰

It is, however, apparent that long before the outbreak of hostilities had depleted the royal treasury the payment of the salary had fallen in arrears, but we know it was continued until or even after the Scottish Mint appointment in 1635, for it was already within our knowledge that Briot in refusing to be bound to constant residence at Edinburgh alleged that this would interfere with the £300 derived from his employment in London—a matter now explicable by his salary of £50 from 1633 onward at the Tower plus the King's grant.¹¹¹ I had, moreover, noticed amongst some Exchequer receipts in the State Papers "from Sep. 4 1630 until the

¹¹⁰ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. DXXXVII. No. 143, where it is calendared, I think mistakenly to Briot's trial of skill of that date, June, 1638. Presumably the place desired by Briot was that of Master of the Mint, but possibly he only aspired to that of Provost of the Moneyers—which was not a Court appointment. The Provost was elected by the Company of Moneyers by whom under the Mint Master (usually known at that time as Master Worker) the coinage was effected. If it was the place of Master Worker that Briot desired, it is more likely that the application was made in August, 1635, when Sir Ralph Freeman and Sir Thomas Aylesbury temporarily succeeded Sir Robert Harley, who assumed office a second time in 1643 (see *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 231). Again, were the date earlier, the request might have referred to Scotland, but Briot became Master-Coiner of the Edinburgh Mint in 1636.

¹¹¹ Burns' *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 445, June 11, 1636; and *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., Vol. XIV. p. 254, article on the *Annals of the Scottish Coinage*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick.

28th of the same being Michas Eve" that "Mr. Bryott" received "62^l10,"¹¹² ergo, the quarterly payment was evidently paid for a certain period. Apparently it was admitted, although less punctually discharged, after the more certain salary from the Warden of the Mint came into force in 1633. It is evident that Briot when making his will considered his arrears in the light of a legal claim to be made good in course of time, but that very little of the yearly £250 had reached him since the date above mentioned.

But how truthful soever Esther may have been concerning the amount of money due to her husband, her arithmetic was at fault when she told Charles II that Briot "was a Servant to the late king yo^r Majesty's Royall ffather of blessed memory for the space of 25 years." In her favour we may say that the number in the copy of her petition at the Record Office is in figures merely, and the possibility of a clerical error must be taken into consideration. We have seen that the artist came to England in the September or October of 1625,¹¹³ and, moreover, Briot himself made no assertion of so long a residence in England, although he, in a petition minuted by Aylesbury at Hampton Court on October 2, 1630, seems to magnify a few weeks into the space of a year. In this appeal for the hastening of a trial of skill, authorized by an edict of February 2, 1629-30, Briot complains of the delays of the Mint officials, and speaks

¹¹² State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. CLXXIII. No. 74.

¹¹³ See p. 173, also Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*, vol. i. pp. 470 and 472, where evidence is printed that Nicholas Briot signed a power of attorney in favour of his brother Isaac Briot, who acted consistently on his behalf before the Cour des Monnaies from the 2nd October, N.S., onward, answering to our September 22, for the old style was still in use in England.

of having "allready lost about six yeares since upon yo^r Mats expresse comãde" he came over.¹¹⁴

A definite pronouncement is given by Charles I in the patent roll of December 16, 1628, that he had a "particular knowledge of his dexterity . . . during the space of three years of divers works perfected by him at the royal command."¹¹⁵

On the whole it is safer to adopt the end of 1625 as the time of Briot's advent, allowing, however, for the possibility that the artist may have performed some work for Charles when in 1623 the latter passed through Paris in the month of February on his way to Spain, for the words that "upon yo^r Mat^s expresse comãde" he came over are suggestive that the King had some knowledge of his powers. But of whatever slips or exaggeration the widow may have been guilty she brings forward two unimpeachable witnesses in Mr. Secretary Nicholas and Sir William Parkhurst in support of her assertion that her husband "with very great danger to his person furnished still the Mint at Oxford with the necessary Stamps and Puncheons."

She also shows forth that "as long as he lived," *i.e.* until the end of 1646, "he from time to time did goe to York and Oxford at his Mat^{ys} commaund," and therefore we look not only for coins bearing his designs, but personal, if temporary supervision.

The fact that on the death of Edward Greene, the chief engraver at the Tower at the end of 1644, Briot was not elevated to his post, is indicative that either he was still absent in France, where his presence is attested in

¹¹⁴ State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, Vol. CLXXIV. No. 4.

¹¹⁵ Patent Roll 4, Carl. I, Part 11, No. 5, as quoted by Mr. Symonds in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 364.

the April¹¹⁶ of that year, or else that he had lost the confidence—although we know that he had not forfeited the pay—of the Parliament.

This seems likely, for we note Esther's words—"during his absence the Mint Tools were seised upon out of the Ship," suggesting that Briot was actually at York on July 15, 1642, when the goods which were not sufficiently portable to be concealed about his person were detained at Scarborough.

It is possible that Briot was not himself a traveller by the sea route, and contrived to escape the vigilance of Captain Stevens and returned hurriedly to London, perhaps in time to answer for his proceedings before Parliament.

Be this as it may, it is clear that his absence then or at some other time was noticed and "his Wife and Children thrown out of their dwelling in the Tower" in consequence, whilst the fact that he died in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields shows that his reinstatement was never complete. Although his action in going to the King's assistance in July, 1642, was not illegal, and the responsibility for it lay with Parkhurst, it would naturally produce annoyance in London, and whether the expulsion took place before or after the Mint sequestration, there is justice in Esther Briot's plaint that he "suffered very much and lost all his fortune," risking even his life in pursuing his policy of loyalty after the removal of Mint property was forbidden by Parliament.

Let us now turn again to the coins and endeavour to

¹¹⁶ April 20, 1644, in new style, according to the French record, ergo, April 10 old style, as used in England. See note 65 to our p. 192.

recognize Briot's handiwork. May I, however, express a hope that others more competent than myself to deal technically with the subject may employ some leisure moments in comparing the varieties of workmanship of York and Oxford? The busts perhaps afford the most accurate opportunity of tracing the sequence of the coins, but I have already too long trespassed on my readers' patience to detail the probabilities which occur to me especially with regard to the Oxford portraiture, and I purpose accordingly to follow a shorter and more suggestive route, using the equestrian figure of the King solely as my basis.

We need not be long tempted aside to discuss the York pieces, because Briot has always been virtually held responsible for the whole coinage of that city, but the date of its commencement demands strict scrutiny.¹¹⁷

Unfortunately the early history of the York mint is hidden in the obscurity of tradition; Folkes,¹¹⁸ Ruding, and other writers, following in their footsteps, carry back its foundation to the year 1629 when Strafford became Governor of the North, and mention a probable coinage in 1633 when the King was on his progress to Scotland for his coronation. I have met with no success in searching for any record of this event amongst the *State Papers*, and by the kindness of Mr. Baldwin,

¹¹⁷ I am not suggesting that Briot engraved all the York coins himself any more than he did the Scottish, which were copied admirably by Falconer and mauled by Dickeson, but the York coinage, like the Scottish, is the product of Briot's roller-mills, and just as Briot delivered his patterns to be copied at the Tower, even for pieces not struck according to his process, so his dies must often have been copied at York.

¹¹⁸ Folkes' *English Silver Coins*, p. 79; Ruding, vol. ii. p. 365.

who procured some information for me from Mr. George Benson, at present resident in York, I understand that no local research has so far corroborated this tradition, whilst my courteous informant writes that the city records of the reign of King Charles previously to 1645 have not been published.¹¹⁹ Mr. Benson referred me to the printed writings of Mr. Robert Davies,¹²⁰ who in 1854 produced an article on the York mints, telling me that so noted an antiquary could not have overlooked any obtainable information, and I find that Mr. Davies discredits the early foundation of the mint. In support of his argument he quotes one Christopher Hildyard, Recorder of Hedon and Steward of St. Mary's Court, York, and member of an old Yorkshire family. This Hildyard was born in 1615 and died in 1694, having published a small chronological work on the affairs of York in 1664, wherein he stated that "about the latter end of January 1642-3 the King's Mint began to coin in Sir Henry Jenkins' house in the Minster yard."¹²¹

Mr. Davies, who as town clerk must have had access to the unpublished city records, regarded this evidence as conclusive that no former coinage had been effected, and inferred that "the York mint was first erected immediately after the Earl of Newcastle entered the city as Lieutenant General of the north," and held from

¹¹⁹ Amongst the documents briefly catalogued by the Hist. MS. Com. (Appendix I. p. 108) is a volume chronicling the affairs of York from July, 1645, to January, 1652.

¹²⁰ Davies's *Historical Notices of the Royal and Archiepiscopal Mints and Coinages of York*, published 1854.

¹²¹ *Antiquities of York City*, p. 54, published by C. H. in 1664, and re-published, with additions by James Torr in 1719, p. 104. All events of importance are briefly chronicled, such as the setting up of the King's printing-press in the same house in the previous March, less than a week after his Majesty's arrival. Edit. 1664, p. 53; edit. 1719, p. 103.

the variety of the types that "its operations were continued during the whole time he held the city for the King namely from January 1642-3 to July 1644 when his defeat at the battle of Marston Moor placed the Government in the hands of the parliamentarians."¹²²

He clearly deemed that Ruding is mistaken in believing that the first consignment of plate dispatched from Oxford was coined at York,¹²³ and assumed that the delay caused by the embargo laid on the ship at Scarborough resulted in the earliest coinage being that at Shrewsbury. This pronouncement, which revolutionizes the whole of Mr. Hawkins's arrangement of types, is so startling that although I am myself inclined to think that in the absence of any record in London or York of the early establishment we may accept Hildyard's evidence, we must yet look at it critically. He clearly regards Strafford's governorship of the north as unworthy of notice, giving no details of the year 1629 beyond the name of the Mayor, nor of 1633 saving the mention of the King's visit, namely, that he "lay at the Mannor four nights" in the month of May, and he may have only recorded the removal of an old mint to more commodious premises. Here, according to this seventeenth-century chronicler, "His Majestie's Printers set up their Presses in the House belonging to Sir Henry Jenkins in the Minster Yard" on the 24th of the previous March, and the idea presents itself that possibly the roller mills required for coining might be moved by the same horse power as the lever press used in printing. It is noticeable that Sir Henry Jenkins's house, which is on the

¹²² *Historical Notices*, p. 54.

¹²³ Ruding, vol. i. p. 398, and *Historical Notices*, pp. 51 and 53.

east of the Minster, is not the place where the coinage was performed in the sixteenth century, neither is it the locale chosen by the advisors of William III who coined at the Royal residence—the Manor—in 1696–8, although King Charles I's mint in the Minster Yard, which has resumed its original name as S. William's College, still stands to the present day.¹²⁴

It is, therefore, only fair to suggest that previously to January, 1642–3, operations may have been carried on in St. Leonard's Hospital in the premises still known as the Mint Yard on the north-west side of the Minster, held by Mr. Davies to be the site of the Crown mint under Henry VIII.¹²⁵ That this Mint Yard was sequestrated after the fall of York as the property of Sir William Saville, "a delinquent in arms," is proved by extracts given by Mr. William Giles¹²⁶ from the *Proceedings of the Committee of the City and County of York* between the years 1645 and 1651,¹²⁷ and it seems

¹²⁴ Information kindly supplied by Mr. Benson, who tells me that Jenkins' house has recently been restored as the home for the Houses of Convocation for the Northern Province. It had upon the dissolution of the religious houses, passed into the hands of the Stanhopes, and thence into those of Jenkins. See also *Pictures of Old York*, by A. Purey Cust, p. 52.

¹²⁵ *Historical Notices*, p. 69. Mr. Davies herein differs from an earlier writer, Mr. Drake, who in his *Eboracum*, published in 1727, p. 337, carries back the name of Mint Yard to the Episcopal mints. Francis Drake's book is compiled from various contemporary MSS., but he does not throw any light upon the establishment of Charles I's mint at Jenkins's house, although he mentions the printing-press there.

¹²⁶ The notices referring to Mint Yard are of November 23, 1646, May 10, 1647, and March 30, 1648, and comprise an order to deliver sequestrated timber in the Mint Yard for public use, another for preserving portions of the structure, and a third concerning the reception of the rents and profits of the lands and tenements. The Mint Yard, including the site of St. Leonard's Hospital, was sold in 1675 by George Lord Savile to the Mayor and Commoners of York, and a portion of the building still remains.

¹²⁷ Published in the *Yorkshire Weekly Herald* from November 30,

just possible that the old mint did in truth exist, as tradition asserts, but being inadequate to the strain cast upon it, it was supplemented in 1643 by the presses in the King's printing house. Of an earlier issue of coins than the Civil War period, the types of many York pieces are suggestive, but this evidence is not conclusive, because they often have no exact prototype at the Tower, and even if they had it was more easy to abstract and send to the North puncheons already out of use than those likely to be required. But to whatever date we attribute the bulk of the York dies the excellence of their graving in most cases, and the process of manufacture by roller mills, point to the occasional presence and general if intermittent superintendence of Briot over the coinage.

Some of the York coins are very fine, and certain examples such as a half-crown in my collection (in very high relief, but otherwise resembling Hawkins No. 497), are suggestive of expert striking.

We are reluctant to cast away the belief that our friend Nicholas Briot had in truth superintended the erection of a York Mint in 1629, or more probably, as the coins suggest, in 1633 on his way to Scotland. But even putting this matter aside as "non proven" we should still think it likely that he visited Charles during the King's occupation of the city, and granting this premise we may then more easily follow Mr. Davies's chronology and allow for the time taken in necessary

1912, to March 8, 1913, and concerning which the author, Mr. William Giles, the present deputy Town Clerk, has kindly supplied me with further information, promising also to search amongst the records for earlier information, a quest which has, I fear, so far proved un-availing.

preparations, and defer the opening of the mint until the time of the Queen's residence and Newcastle's governorship. We may wonder why the artist responsible for the entire coinage should have signed two dies in particular, the one for a shilling, the other for a half-crown [Pl. XII. Fig. 1], from the latter of which the impressions are very rare, probably for the reason that it cracked immediately, as is shown by the flaw on the few specimens known to me?¹²⁸

The shilling bearing Briot's signature [Pl. XII. Fig. 3] is less rare, but by no means common. The answer to the problem perhaps lies in the fact that these initialled dies would establish the engraver's claim upon the King, were proof needed of his loyalty, whilst the minute letter would pass unnoticed unless special attention were directed to it, and would not therefore endanger his position at the Tower. We have seen, moreover, that on May 30, Sir Edward Nicholas had written, informing Briot that in view of his illness his Majesty would dispense for the moment with his attendance on "the requirement he had for your employment here," thus suggesting that a substitute had been found. Nevertheless Briot despatched his heavier instruments and apparently smuggled through on his person some dies

¹²⁸ There is one specimen of the half-crown in the British Museum, one was in the collection of the late Mr. Bliss, there is my own, once the property of Mr. Lawrence, and one in the late Mr. Dudman's sale of December, 1918. I ought to mention that some collectors (amongst others Mr. Bliss, who kindly showed me his example) have been inclined to read the letter as an R rather than a B, the return of the letter being lost in the circle of the O, but on the exhibition of the coin to the Society the majority were in favour of B, and it was so catalogued at the Museum; the specimen in the Dudman collection reads B more clearly. We need, therefore, not discuss their transference to Rawlins or Ramage, with whose workmanship they are not agreed.

and puncheons, or made them on his arrival. The presence of a rival at York would account for the signature, and the fact that this type—the horse with forward mane and the tail visible between the legs, Hks. type 7—is usually found unsigned, denotes that more dies were subsequently made from Briot's puncheon, and that undergravers must have been present at York as at the Tower.¹²⁹

But the name of no rival rises to our lips when we review the possible engravers, capable of making so good a coinage as that of York; for even if we accept the tradition, now mostly discredited,¹³⁰ that Simon was a Yorkshireman, and was first trained by Briot in that city, it seems improbable that Thomas Simon, a Puritan, should have been on the side of Charles.¹³¹ His work from the making of an Admiralty Seal in 1636 is well known, and we have the certainty that he was already in the Parliament's employ in July, 1643, when he received an order to make a new great seal to

¹²⁹ We have already shown that the equestrian figure on these signed half-crowns agrees with the type principally, although not invariably, in use at the Tower from mint-mark Star to (P) on the half-crown [see **Pl. XII. Fig. 2**], and throughout the later period of (P) to Sun on the crowns. A type attributed usually to Simon commences with Sun on these large pieces, and on the half-crowns extends to Sceptre—therefore beyond the date of Briot's work—his death taking place during the period marked by the Sun.

¹³⁰ See Vertue's *Simon*, edit. 1780, p. 60; see, however, Mr. Wroth's article in *Dictionary of National Biography; Num. Chron.*, 1st Ser., Vol. IV. p. 213, and Vol. V. p. 165.

¹³¹ *Simon's Seals, Medals, and Coins*, by George Vertue, p. 60. It is there suggested that Briot obtained the services of Simon when establishing the mint at York on his way to Scotland in 1633, but Simon, if born, as we believe, in 1623, could not have been of great use at so early a period, and the doubt as to the foundation of the York mint prior to the Civil War renders the question still more difficult of solution. It is now considered more likely that Simon was of a Guernsey family, settled first in Canterbury and then in London.

replace that taken to the King at York in May, 1642,¹³² and we have no evidence later than a medal of 1639 of his following the fortunes of Charles.¹³³ Were Briot's signed coins at Oxford they might result from a rivalry with Rawlins. Let us now turn to the University city.

At Oxford we must dismiss from our minds the precise rounded shape so characteristic of Briot's coinage, and yet retain in our memory the peculiar style of equestrian portrait, which he most affected and which had appeared on patterns in his early years, recurring on the coinages known by his name, with mint-marks Flower and B, and Anchor. It was in use in Scotland, it re-appeared as a familiar type at Oxford, filtered thence to the Exeter mint, and in the form of a very inferior imitation to Weymouth. Let us arrange these coins in proper sequence.

Mr. Symonds tells us that amongst the disbursements ending November 30, during the year 1632, there is a charge for a dinner for the officers of the mint "when Bryott did work, it being no mint day."¹³⁴ Also, he informs us that Sir Thomas Aylesbury¹³⁵ somewhat later delivered to the King "fair silver moneys," viz. three crowns and three half-crowns of Briot's moneys and three crowns, three half-crowns, and ten shillings

¹³² Simon delivered this seal to Parliament on September 28, 1643.

¹³³ The medals on the Scottish Rebellion (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. pp. 282-283, Nos. 91, 93, and 94) are signed by Simon.

¹³⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 366.

¹³⁵ Sir Thomas Aylesbury was Master of the Mint from 1627 to 1643, but appears to have held the post in conjunction with Sir Robert Harley, whose first tenure of office was from November, 1626, to August, 1635. Sir Ralph Freeman then shared the position with Aylesbury from 1635 to May, 1643, when Harley returned, until 1649, when differences with the Parliamentary party caused his final retirement (see *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 232). Aylesbury, being a Royalist, was deprived of his place during the Civil War.

of the moneyer's making, in all 55s.¹³⁶ He further explains that Briot must have "worked at his own coinage on certain unnamed days within two stated periods only, viz. (1) between November 30, 1631, and the same date in 1632, when the mint-marks Rose and Harp were successively used, and (2) between July 31, 1638, and the same date in 1639, when the Anchor and Triangle were the current marks, the latter being in use for about three weeks."¹³⁷

I would like to suggest further that, apart from the special coins which we call by Briot's name, apart also from the patterns which differ from the currency, there are some very beautiful specimens of busts upon the current coin, with Rose and Harp mint-marks, which, although they have not the artist's signature, show forth the stamp of his handiwork. We must remember that Briot was called upon to deliver obverse designs to be copied on the currency, and again we find specially well-engraved pieces with these and other mint-marks, which were no doubt made for this purpose, but from their rarity we assume were not approved. Amongst these possibly is a half unite (Kenyon type 3) in the British Museum with mint-mark Rose, suggesting the innovation of a turned-down collar in the place of the King's ruff. Be this as it may, the varieties bearing the mint-mark Rose are many, and I must thank Mr. Symonds, in that he has cleared from the path many difficulties in arranging the sequence of Briot's coins of all kinds, and incidentally the crowns and half-crowns to which I now purpose to call attention.

¹³⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, Vol. XIII. p. 366. See also Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 256.

¹³⁷ *Num. Chron.*, as above, Vol. XIII. p. 366; also Vol. X. p. 393.

These coins are adorned upon the obverse with an equestrian design, which for the moment I name the Briot horse, in that he gave it the preference on his special milled coinage.

First, then, we must place the rare pattern crowns, signed by the artist's initials, one of these bearing on the obverse a crowned bust, the other bareheaded [Pl. XIII. Fig. 1]; both have the equestrian figure on the reverse, somewhat larger than the ultimate presentment, but reminiscent of Van Dyck's pictures in the stately pose of both man and beast.

Then follow the crown [Pl. XIII. Fig. 2] and half-crown with the Flower and B as mint-mark, the anemone being, perhaps, later re-echoed in the stops on some of the Oxford coins. The curious A's, so peculiar to Briot and Simon, have made their appearance, although neither these nor the diamond-shaped stops are absolutely invariable. Whether upon the occasion of placing three crowns and three half-crowns before the King, our artist offered him the choice between the patterns specified above and the third, afterwards circulated, who shall say? Neither can we pause to speak of alternative half-crowns, which are not of equestrian type—we must follow the authorized issues.

We then pursue Briot to Scotland, and remind our readers of the coins of 1637 (Crown on Pl. XIII. Fig. 3) with mint-mark Thistle and B, afterwards copied by Falconer.

Pl. XIV. Fig. 1 brings before us the half-crown of the artist's special coinage with mint-mark Anchor and B at the Tower for which in 1638-9 Mr. Symonds has prepared us, and at this moment, strangely enough, begins a rougher and extremely rare series of coins

bearing Briot's horse, lettering, and stops, but struck with the hammer and little better in execution than the ordinary Tower issue of the day, being apparently an attempt on the part of the engraver to introduce his favourite design into popular use with the mint-marks Anchor and Triangle. Ruding, in figuring in his Plate F, No. 3, a somewhat curious half-crown which I illustrate on our **Pl. XIV.** as **Fig. 2**, ascribed it, on account no doubt of its peculiar square-topped shield, to an unknown country mint. But its mint-marks on both sides of prostrate Anchor suggest the Tower sequence, and we may note that my specimen of this curious type has the recumbent Anchor altered to a Triangle, both upon obverse and reverse [**Pl. XIV. Fig. 3**]; a second example struck from this die is in the Museum, and a third is in Colonel Morrieson's cabinet. This carries us on to another half-crown in my collection [**Pl. XIV. Fig. 4**], still with the Triangle altered from an Anchor, and in this instance again on both sides, whilst the reverse is decorated with the ordinary Tower shield. Colonel Morrieson also has a specimen of the coin. The British Museum contains two examples of Ruding F. 3, and we have seen that there are at least the same number of specimens of our Tower issue [**Pl. XIV. Fig. 4**], perhaps more, for one appeared in the Murdoch sale, and neither is Colonel Morrieson nor am I aware whether our respective coins passed through the hands of that collector, but several pieces with minute differences must have been struck. It would seem as though a continuous movement had been made by Briot to introduce his favourite design at the Tower between 1639 and 1643, for not only are the above suggestive of such an effort, but a curious and very rare

crown—so far as we know from a unique puncheon—so decorated is brought before us at the Museum with the mint-mark, Triangle-in-circle. This must have been struck between July 15, 1641, and May 29, 1643¹³⁸ [Pl. XIII. Fig. 4].

Now let us turn to Oxford, and we shall find a solitary pound piece [Pl. XIV. Fig. 5] in the National Collection¹³⁹ struck in 1643, the year in which "the Briot horse" first makes its appearance in the University city, supplanting its less correctly modelled predecessor. This graceful type did not come into regular use upon the silver pounds nor appear at all upon the Oxford crowns, and so far as we know this twenty-shilling piece is unique, but the half-crown of this obverse design is so common that the animal is usually known as the "Oxford horse," and holds sway throughout the years 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646 [Pl. XV. Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4]. The changes in dies with small differences in the stops prove how large was the issue of these coins, and the puncheons, attributable to Briot's design, show in many instances increasing signs of wear. How often these were renewed, how often fresh dies were engraved with the co-operation of inferior workmen, it is hard to say, for sometimes, although not often, we find a better specimen in the later than in the earlier years, proving that new puncheons must have been made. In all cases the striking is extremely faulty, and it is difficult to discover pieces sufficiently well struck for observation of such minutiae. I hope I am not unduly pressing my

¹³⁸ See Mr. Symonds' table of Mint-marks in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. X. p. 393. So far as I am aware no crowns bearing this mint-mark have been seen in other types.

¹³⁹ From the Montagu Collection, lot 493.

point in suggesting that Briot probably selected in London his own puncheons, they not being in demand, or perhaps engraved such on purpose, and sent or took them and some specimen dies to Oxford. It will be admitted that these equestrian portraits with their direct descent from his early patterns are more reminiscent than any other Oxford coins of the French engraver's handiwork. But I am bound to confess that one obstacle presents itself in the fact that this type reappeared almost exactly in three forms at Exeter¹⁴⁰: undated with two differing reverses [Pl. XV. Figs. 6 and 7], and dated [Pl. XV. Fig. 5] the numerals 1644 being visible in the legend. We have no documentary evidence of Briot's presence at that place, but a possible explanation may be found in the Queen's movements. She joined her husband at Oxford in July, 1643, and remained in the University city from the 13th of that month until April 2, 1644, residing at Merton College. From thence she made her way to Exeter, £2500 being provided for the purpose of her journey by Bushell. Is it not possible that part of this money consisted of half-crowns with the Briot horse, and in compliment to her the Exeter mint produced a fairly faithful copy of the obverse design? There were many varieties of coins struck at Exeter, some being of excellent workmanship, but I am not prepared to suggest that Briot visited the place, neither know we who produced the superior pieces. But if we prefer to assign the undated specimens with "the Briot horse" to the earliest probable date, *i.e.* 1643,¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ The tail of the horse is slightly more bushy, otherwise the copy is fairly exact.

¹⁴¹ Exeter was at first in the hands of the Parliament, but surrendered to Prince Maurice in September, 1643. Unless it was struck

may we not believe that Charles I in issuing to "Sir Richard Vyvyan Knt" an authority to open mints within the counties of Devon and Cornwall, "and to make and engrave irons and stamps with his Majesty's effigies," may have sent him certain puncheons and dies as patterns? ¹⁴²

Our list is not quite finished, and those who disagree with the line of argument I have tentatively advanced may say: What of those curious Weymouth coins with various reverses [Pl. XII. Fig. 5] sometimes confounded with the Exeter issues in that for mint-mark they bear a small rosette, whilst the type of the shields proclaims their Weymouth origin? My answer is that so poor a copy bespeaks a very inferior workman, endeavouring to reproduce the Oxford-Exeter horse, and that in describing an example of this rare coin now in my collection the cataloguer wrote: "This coin has been ascribed to Exeter: specimens struck from the same obverse die and with an unmistakable Exeter reverse are said to exist." ¹⁴³

We need, therefore, carry the Briot horse no further afield than Exeter in the year 1644, whilst it remained

for the Parliamentarians or as a complimentary medal with no reference to Exeter, the so-called half-crown bearing date 1642 is an unexplained problem. The man who engraved this free copy of Simon's Scottish rebellion medals (*Med. III.*, vol. i. pp. 282-283, Nos. 90-94) was no mean artist. The same type recurs in 1644, at which time the town was held by the Royalists. We cannot, therefore, easily transfer the type to the side of the Parliament. Folkes placed it amongst the coins struck at York, but Hawkins discountenanced this attribution on account of the Rose mint-mark. If, moreover, a specimen really exists dated 1645, the same difficulty would reappear, for York fell in 1644. Exeter finally capitulated to Fairfax on April 9, 1646.

¹⁴² Document in the Bodleian Library, quoted by Mr. Symonds in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. p. 370. This warrant is dated January 3, 1643-4.

¹⁴³ Catalogue of the Hamilton Smith Sale, No. 125, June 21, 1913.

in use at Oxford until such time as the city surrendered on June 20, 1646—fully six months before the death of Briot. The King had left for the north on April 27; the engraver's sphere of usefulness was closed.

And now to sum up chronologically the whole matter, stripped of the somewhat clumsy evidence.

In 1625 Briot comes to England.

In 1626 he begins to work for Charles.

In 1628 Briot receives a grant of £250 yearly from the King to engrave the obverse pattern dies of all his coins.

In 1633 Briot obtains the appointment at the Tower of "one of the gravers" at £50 per annum.

On May 1, 1642, Briot communicates from the Tower with Charles who is at York, deprecating a suggested debasement of coin.

On May 6 Briot is commanded by the King to attend him at York.

On the 22nd of May the King's great seal is taken to York, but is not replaced in London until July 19, 1643, when Simon is ordered to engrave a copy—the new seal is completed on September 28, 1643. This suggests the absence of Briot from London in the middle of 1643.

On May 26 Briot is in London giving evidence on mint matters before Parliament.

On May 30 Nicholas, the Secretary of State, begs Briot not to hurry to York, having heard that he is ill, but has received a letter dated the 25th from Parkhurst notifying Briot's intended departure.

On June 21 Nicholas writes to desire the engraver's immediate presence bringing dies and puncheons to York.

On June 30 a further communication concerning

financial arrangements for the journey is made by Nicholas.

On July 7 Ramage is paid at the Tower for supplying minting materials for York and Shrewsbury.

On July 12 Parliament orders the highways round Oxford to be watched, the King having commanded the University to send treasure to York.

On July 15 the ship containing mint materials is stopped at Scarborough.

On July 23 the Commons commend this detention and command Briot to appear before the House.

On August 20 his private possessions are returned, but not such as belong to minting.

On October 5 the Commons prohibit "any Officer, Workman or Instrument, belonging to the Mint or coining or graving to quit their charge." It is likely that it was during the absence of Briot after and not before this event that his wife and children were turned out of his house in the Tower, inasmuch as such absence before would not have been illegal.

On January 3, 1642-3, the Oxford mint is opened by the help of apparatus brought from Shrewsbury by Bushell, who had taken his men and tools thither from Aberystwith. The King in the following June, in a letter of thanks to Bushell says that his help was given "when all the Officers in the Mint of or Tower of London forsooke their attendance except Sir William Parkhurst": this probably refers to the opening of the Shrewsbury mint, for Briot attended the King both at York and Oxford.

"About the latter end of January 164 $\frac{2}{3}$," it is recorded that "the King's Mint began to coin in Sir Henry Jenkins' house in the Minster Yard" at York.

Before the end of the year 1642, according to old style, ergo, before March 25, 1643, Rawlins makes badges for the King, and the new large horse is seen on a £1 piece (Hks. type 4).

A warrant for making a badge is dated Oxford, May 18, 1643, and another under date June 1, 1643, speaks of Rawlins as "our Graver of Seals, Stamps and Medals."

On July 13, 1643, the King and Queen met at Kington, and Rawlins commemorates this event medallically. Both Briot and Rawlins make medals commemorative of the King's manifesto on the desirability of Peace after the taking of Bristol on July 27, 1643.

In the middle of the year 1643 the character of the equestrian coinage at Oxford changes.

Bushell departs for Bristol where he has opened a mint in the Castle, taking with him, as we should judge from the style of the coinage, some engraver, name unknown, who clearly had been responsible for the badly drawn horse, which preceded Briot's equestrian portrait.

In 1643 the style of Oxford portraiture improves, and Rawlins should, I think, be given the honour of the new gold pieces and equestrian figure on the silver pounds, of which the puncheon has been already used in 1642 and continues in use in 1643 and 1644.

On April 20 to 22 n.s. in the year 1644, M. Maze-rolle notes Briot's presence in Paris.

The exact date of Bushell's departure for Bristol from Oxford is not known, but he was still at Bristol on May 17, 1644, and the fact that he clothed the soldiers arriving from Ireland suggests that he was already at Bristol in January, 1643-4.

In 1644 we have Rawlins' signed coins continuing to 1646, the date of the fall of Oxford.

In April, 1645, the King gives Rawlins a warrant of "chief graver in the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales," the last holder of this office, by the King's appointment, Edward Greene, having died at the end of the year 1644. This grant to Rawlins is almost contemporary with the parliamentary appointment of Simon and Wade, the place having, it seems, been held for a short time by Nicholas de Burgh.

The King left Oxford on April 27, 1646, but the city held out until June 24. Six months later Briot died in London, in the Parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, in December, 1646, in receipt of the Warden's pay at the Tower of £50 a year, the arrears of which had been allowed to him.

After his death his widow appealed to the Lord Protector and to King Charles II for the far larger arrears due from the King, and produced evidence, when putting forth her petition after the Restoration, that her husband had loyally tried to assist Charles I at great danger to his person, for "even in the worse of times, as long as he lived, he from time to time did goe to York and Oxford at his Matys command."

I leave it to my readers' indulgence to decide whether this was a true claim and whether the loyalty of Briot is vindicated.

HELEN FARQUHAR.

INDEX OF ETHNICS APPEARING ON GREEK COINS.

THE list of Ethnics in the genitive case arranged by terminals in Boutkowski's *Petit Mionnet de Poche* has proved of great practical value to collectors, but it is forty years since it was first published and there are many gaps to be filled.

The following Index, compiled chiefly from the *Historia Numorum* (2nd edition), is based on Boutkowski's list, but differs from it not only in length but in one important detail of arrangement: the order of the terminals is strictly alphabetical and consequently the arrangement by districts has been abandoned; the name of the district is, however, given with each town. The last three letters of the genitive have throughout been regarded as the terminal, but this terminal may comprise several subordinates: thus —ΒΕΩΝ, —ΓΕΩΝ, —ΑΕΩΝ, —ΘΕΩΝ, —ΑΙΕΩΝ, &c., will be found as subdivisions under the terminal —ΕΩΝ. The arrangement is alphabetical, beginning with the first letter before the terminal, *i.e.* the fourth letter from the end, and working backwards to the beginning of the word. The last decisive letter, which determines the alphabetical position of the name, and those following it are printed in

capitals, the letters which precede the decisive letter in small type¹: *e.g.*

ΓερΑΣΩΝ
ΠιμωΛι „
ΕΜΙ „

Of the class of adjectival terminations in —ON on early coins, only those are included of which it is impossible to say with certainty whether they are masculine genitives plural or neuter nominatives singular. Thus *Μεσσηνίων* is included but *Σερμυλικόν* excluded. In all such cases —ων has been substituted for —ον. The alternative spelling —ειτων for —ιτων, so common on later coins, has been disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, *e.g.* *Φαλλειτών* appears as *Φαλλιτών*. Titles of cities, such as *Καισαρέων*, have been inserted in cases where they may be mistaken for the ethnic, and in such cases the name of the city as well as of the district is given in the second column.

This list is confined to genitives plural. The other categories included by Boutkowski in his list are held over for another occasion.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

ΟιγίΑΔΑΝ	Acarnania	ΙΠΑΝΑΤΑΝ	Sicily
Τευθι „	Arcadia	ΠιΤΑΝ „	Samnium
ΗδΩΝΑΝ	Macedonia	ΑιγυΡ „	Achaea
ΤεΓΕΑΤΑΝ	Arcadia	ΚαλλισΤ „	Arcadia
ΑΛΕ „	„	ΔιλυΒΑΙΤΑΝ	Sicily
ΕΛΕ „	Epirus	ΚεΡΑ „	Crete, Pisidia
ΑΣΕ „	Arcadia	ΚαλλιποΛ „	Caria
ΠοσειΔΩΝΙ „	Lucania	ΘΕΡΜ „	Sicily
ΚΥΔΩΝΙ „	Crete	ΠανΟΡΜ „	„
ΑποΛΛΩΝΙ „	Illyricum	ΑδρΑΝ „	„
ΚαΥΛΩΝΙ „	Bruttium	ΤαυρομΕΝ „	„
ΚροΤΩΝΙ „	„	ΤαΜΝ „	Aeolis
ΛουΣΙ „	Arcadia	ΡιζΟΝ „	Illyricum

¹ Except of course the initial letter.

ΣαΥΝΙΤΑΝ	Samnium
ΤυνδαΡ	" Sicily
ΕυεσπεΡ	" Cyrenaica
ΛισΣ	" Illyricum
ΗρακλεΩΤΑΝ	Bithynia
Αμ { βραΚι	" Epirus
ΣικεΑΙ	" Sicily
ΑλλαΡΙ	" Crete
ΜαρΛ	" Cilicia (Mallus)
ΑπειΡ	" Epirus
ΦερΑΙΟΥΝ	Thessaly
ΚραννουΝΙ	" "
ΓομφιΤ	" "
ΛΑΩΝ	Laconia
ΑΙΝ	" Macedonia
ΚοΑΩΝ	" Troad
ΤεΡΩΝ	" Macedonia
ΟιΤ	" Thessaly
ΜηδΑΒΩΝ	Arabia
ΕυσΕ	" Cilicia (Zephyrium)
Περραι	" Thessaly
ΤεκτοσΑΓΩΝ	Galatia (Ancyra)
ΑρκΑΔΩΝ	Crete
ΟυραΝΙ	" Macedonia
ΠισΙ	" Pisidia (Sagalasus)
ΣιΝ	" Bosphorus
ΣεΡ	" Thrace
ΛΥ	" Lydia (Mostene)
ΑιΓΑΕΩΝ	Aeolis
ΜιΔ	" Phrygia
Κοτι	" "
ΝειΚ	" Lydia (Cilbiani Inf.)
ΦωΚ	" Ionia
ΑκκιΛ	" Phrygia
ΔορυΛ	" "
ΠτολεΜ	" Ionia (Lebedus), Phoenicia
ΠελινΝ	" Thessaly
ΗΡ	" Arcadia
ΠειΡ	" Pontus
ΒοΥΡ	" Achaea
ΛαριΣ	" Thessaly
ΝΥΣ	" Lydia
ΠροΥΣ	" Bithynia

ΟΛΒΕΩΝ	Cilicia
ΑναζαΡ	" "
ΚανδΥ	" Lycia
ΣεΛΓΕΩΝ	Pisidia
ΑΡ	" Acarnania
ΑΔΑΔΕΩΝ	Pisidia
ΤιμβΡΙΑ	" "
ΛυσΙΑ	" Phrygia
ΑμβΛΑ	" Pisidia
ΣυνΝΑ	" Phrygia
ΑνΔΗ	" Pisidia
ΝικοΜΗ	" Bithynia
ΝαΓΙ	" Cilicia
ΧαλΚΙ	" Euboea, Macedonia, Syria
ΑπολλωΝΙ	" Lydia
ΑλαΒΑΝ	" Caria
ΑρυΚΑΝ	" Lycia
ΣιΛΑΝ	" Lydia
ΟινοΑΝ	" Lycia
ΛαΡΑΝ	" Lycania
ΔαλιΣΑΝ	" "
ΑΙΙΝ	" Caria
ΙΣΙΝ	" Pisidia
Β) λΑΥΝ	" Phrygia
Μ) λΑΥΝ	" "
ΣιβιδοΥΝ	" Pamphylia
ΜαΓΥ	" Lydia
ΚλανΝΟΥ	" Phrygia
ΑτΤΟΥ	" Phrygia
ΚυναΙΘΕΩΝ	Arcadia
Οιαν	" Locris
ΑιΓΑΙΕΩΝ	Aeolis
ΙστΙ	" Euboea
ΝΙΚ	" Bithynia
ΦοΙΝΙΚ	" Epirus
ΛεΥΚ	" Ionia
ΦΩΚ	" "
ΑστυπαΛ	" Caria
ΠτολεΜ	" Phoenicia
ΠελινΝ	" Thessaly
ΔιΠ	" Arcadia
ΗΡ	" "
ΝυΣ	" Samaria
ΚρηΤ	" Crete
ΜελιΤ	" Thessaly
ΑιΓΙΕΩΝ	Achaia
ΚλαυΔΙΕΩΝ	Syria (Leucas)

ΠομπΗΙΕΩΝ	Decapolis (Gadara)	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ	Phrygia, Syria, Coele Syria
ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ	Thessaly	Κλαυδ.ΟΛΑΟΔΙ	„ Lycaonia
ΑυρΗ	„ Ionia (Neapolis)	ΕυρΥΔΙ	„ Ionia (Smyrna)
Ι	„ Troas	ΓερμΑΝΙ	„ Commagene, Phoenicia (Ptolemais)
ΟκοΚ	„ Phrygia		
Ομο	„ Thessaly	ΘεσσαΛΟΝΙ	„ Macedonia
ΜεΘΥ	„ „	ΣτραΤΟΝ[Ε]Ι	„ Caria, Lydia
ΙΟΥ	„ Lydia, Phrygia, Syria (Laodicea)	ΣΕΛΕΥ	„ Lydia (Tralles), Pisidia, Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia
ΚαπιτΩ	„ Decapolis	Κλαυδ.ΟΣΕΛΕΥ	„ Pisidia
ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ	Thessaly	ΦΩ	„ Phocis
ΚεΡΑ	„ Caria	ΑΛΕΩΝ	Thessaly, Arcadia
ΛυσΙΝΙΕΩΝ	Pisidia	ΓΑΒΑ	„ Syria
ΕΙΚΟ	„ Lycaonia	ΤΑΒΑ	„ Lydia
ΚλαυΔΕΙΚΟ	„ „	ΚαΣΤΑΒΑ	„ Cilicia
ΘΡΟ	„ Locris	ΦΙ[Γ]Α	„ Arcadia
ΒιθΥ	„ Bithynia	ΤΡΓΑ	„ Phrygia
ΚοΛΩ	„ Messenia	ΕΓΓΙΑ	„ Cyclades
ΕΙΠΩ	„ Bruttium	ΑγΧΙΑ	„ Thrace
ΕυΒΟΙΕΩΝ	Euboea (Eretria)	ΑτΤΑ	„ Pamphylia
ΘεσΠΙΕΩΝ	Boeotia	ΠωΓ	„ Pisidia
ΙκαΡΙΕΩΝ	Ionia	ΦυΓΕ	„ Ionia
ΜεθυΔ	„ Arcadia	ΖαΙΕ	„ Thraco - Macedonian
ΤΙΒΕ	„ Pisidia (Pappa), Galilee	ΦιλομΗ	„ Phrygia
Κλαυδ.ΟΤΙΒΕ	„ Galilee	ΚορυδΑΛ	„ Lycia
ΚΙΕ	„ Thessaly	ΙΟΛ	„ Mysia
Ανακτο	„ Acarnania	ΑΙΟ	„ Aeolis
ΕρεΤ	„ Euboea	ΝαΚΟ	„ Phrygia
ΔημηΤ	„ Thessaly, Coele Syria, Assyria	ΣΟ	„ Cilicia
ΑμαΣΤ	„ Paphlagonia	Κοδρυ	„ Pisidia
ΑνεμοΥ	„ Cilicia	ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ	Phrygia, Bithynia, Syria
ΔΩ	„ Phrygia (Synnada)	ΔοΚΙ	„ Phrygia
ΠΑΡΑΣΙΕΩΝ	Caria	ΥλλαΡΙ	„ Caria
ΠειΡΑ	„ Thessaly	ΕυρΩ	„ „
Αφροδ[ε]Ι	„ Caria	ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ	Cilicia
ΠριαΝ	„ Crete	ΑδρΙΑ	„ Mysia
ΚυπριΣ	„ Messenia	ΒΑΛΑ	„ Syria
ΠΡΟΥ	„ Bithynia	ΠεΛΛΑ	„ Achaea
ΑΤΟΥ	„ Assyria	ΚοΜΑ	„ Pontus
ΟρθΩ	„ Caria, Phoenicia	ΚοΝΑ	„ Pisidia
ΚρηΤΙΕΩΝ	Bithynia	ΠιΤΑ	„ Mysia
ΗφαιΣ	„ Thrace	ΤΥΑ	„ Cappadocia
ΦαρνΑΚΕΩΝ	Pontus		

ΡΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ	Syria	ΟρθαγοΡΕΩΝ	Macedon
ΕπιΦΑ	„ Syria, Cilicia	ΕκκαΡ	Thessaly (?)
ΕυΜΕ	„ Phrygia	ΘΥΡ	„ Acarnania
ΦΕ	„ Arcadia	ΠΑΤ	„ Achaea
ΠριΗ	„ Ionia	ΣαοΥΑΤ	„ Lycaonia
ΠελλΗ	„ Achaea	ΚυΒΙΣΤ	„ Cappadocia
Μαρτι	„ Arcadia	ΙΛΙΣΤ	„ Lycaonia
ΚρηΜ	„ Pisidia	ΕπιδαΥ	„ Argolid
ΠροστΑΝ	„ „	ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥ	„ Phrygia
ΕΤΕΝ	„ „	ΓριΜΕΝΟΘΥ	„ „
ΓΟΝ	„ Thessaly	ΑντιΚΥ	„ Phocis
ΑντιΓΟ	„ Arcadia (Mantinea)	ΜΥ	„ Lycia
ΗΔΟ	„ Macedonia	ΔΙΜΥ	„ „
ΑμυΖΟ	„ Caria	ΒαλΒΟΥ	„ „
ΕρμιΟ	„ Argolid	ΚολΒΑΣΕΩΝ	Pisidia
ΑκΜΟ	„ Phrygia	ΙΑ	„ Caria
ΚΑΡΥ	„ Achaea	ΔΑΛΑ	„ Cilicia
ΟΦΡΥ	„ Troad	ΜΥΛΑ	„ Caria
ΒουΒΩ	„ Lycia	ΑΜΑ	„ Pontus
ΘεμιΣΩ	„ Phrygia	ΠΑΡΑ	„ Caria
ΑρΑΞΕΩΝ	Lycia	ΝαΚΡΑ	„ Lydia
ΘιΣΟΕΩΝ	Arcadia	ΤυμνΗ	„ Caria
ΚερεΤΑΠΕΩΝ	Phrygia	ΤΔΙ	„ „
ΓορΓΙΠ	„ Bosphorus	ΚοροπΕΙ	„ Cilicia
ΑγΡΙΠ	„ „	ΤαΡ	„ „
ΕΥΙΠ	„ Caria	ΚολΒΑΣ	„ Pisidia
ΕυκαΡ	„ Phrygia	ΑρΕΑΣ	„ „
ΣινΩ	„ Paphlagonia	ΑρΙΑΣ	„ „
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ	Megarid	ΣαΓΑΛΑΣ	„ „
ΓαρΓΑ	„ Mysia	ΔΑΛΑΣ	„ Cilicia
ΓαΔΑ	„ Decapolis	[ΜΙΝΑΣ	„ Pisidia]
ΠιΝΑ	„ Lycia	ΑλικαρΝΑΣ	„ Caria
ΚΑΙΣΑ	„ Bithynia, Cilicia (Anazarbus), Bosphorus	ΚολυβΡΑΣ	„ Cilicia
ΝΕΟΚΑΙΣΑ	„ Pontus, Lydia (Philadelphia)	ΤιτΥΑΣ	„ Pisidia
ΔΙΟΚΑΙΣΑ	„ Phrygia, Cilicia	ΕΔΕΣ	„ Macedon
ΙεΡΟΚΑΙΣΑ	„ Lydia	Τελ[Ε]ΜΗΣ	„ Lycia
ΠαΤΑ	„ Lycia	ΤεΡΜΗΣ	„ Lycia, Pisidia
ΣυΕΔ	„ Cilicia	ΠρυμΝΗΣ	„ Phrygia
ΦολεΚΑΝΔ	„ Cyclades	ΚιδΥΗΣ	„ „
ΑλεΞΑΝΔ	„ Troad, Cilicia	ΑκΑΛΙΣ	„ Lycia
ΑνΤΑΝΔ	„ Troad	ΠεδνΗΛΙΣ	„ Pisidia
ΘΗ	„ Cyclades	ΚοροΠΙΣ	„ Cilicia
ΑλεφΕΙ	„ Arcadia	ΑμφΙΣ	„ Locris
ΚαΜΙ	„ Caria	ΡΩ	„ Syria
		ΕΛΑΤΕΩΝ	Thessaly, Phocis
		ΖευγΜΑ	„ Commagene
		ΒαΡΑ	„ Lycaonia
		ΣαμοΣΑ	„ Commagene

Απολλων ΗΤΕΩΝ	Thrace	ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ	Macedon, Thrace
ΥεΛΗ	Lucania	ΤριΚΚ	Thessaly
ΕπικΤΗ	Phrygia	ΒαΡΚ	Cyrenaica
ΠαρΛΑΙ	Lycaonia	ΔανΚΛ	Sicily
ΑμφΙΠΟΛΙ	Macedon	ΠεΛΛ	Macedon, Deca- polis
ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙ	Campania, Mace- don	ΝΩΛ	Campania
ΟΛΒΙΟΠΟΛΙ	Sarmatia (Ol- bia)	ΣΑΜ	Cephallenia
ΜαρωΝΙ	Thrace	ΜεΔΜ	Bruttii
ΑβδηΡΙ	"	ΜεΣΜ	"
ΠαλλαΝ	Arcadia	ΔΥΜ	Achaea
ΣιΛΛΥΕΩΝ	Pamphylia	ΚΥΜ	Campania, Aeolis
ΚαΦ	Arcadia	Ο.ΣΥΜ	Thrace
ΦιλαδεΛΦΕΩΝ	Cilicia, Decapo- lis, Lydia	ΡΩΜ	Pisidia (Sagalas- sus), Cilicia (Anazarbus)
ΓοΜΦ	Thessaly	ΛογΓΑΝ	Sicily
ΣκαΡ	Locris	ΜεΘΑΝ	Argolis
ΛυσιμΑΧΕΩΝ	Thracian Cher- sonnese	ΚΡΑΝ	Cephallenia
ΑντιΟ	Troad (Cebren), Caria, Pisidia, Cilicia, Com- magene, Phoe- nicia (Ptole- mais), Syria, Mesopotamia (Edessa and Nisibis)	ΚΥΡΑΝ	Cyrenaica
ΤΛΩΕΩΝ	Lycia	ΚΑΤΑΝ	Sicily
ΠιτΑΝΗΩΝ	Mysia	ΠΙΤΑΝ	Mysia
ΓυΡΝ	Aeolis	ΠυΔΝ	Macedon
ΣεβασΤ	Thessaly (Κοινόν)	ΑΘΕΝ	Thrace (Imbros)
ΘηΒΑΙΩΝ	Boeotia, Thessaly	ΕυρυΜΕΝ	Thessaly
ΠΑΓ	Megarid	ΑΘΗΝ	Attica
ΑΙΓ	Achaea	ΜυτιΛΗΝ	Lesbos
ΠεΡΓ	Pamphylia	ΜυρΕΙΝ	Aeolis
ΜεΝΔ	Macedon	ΟΙΝ	Ionia (Icaria)
ΜΩΔ	Crete	ΚαμΑΡΙΝ	Sicily
ΑιΓΕ	Cilicia	ΤΕΡΙΝ	Bruttium
ΕυΡΕ	Thessaly	ΑΓΥΡΙΝ	Sicily
ΓΑΖ	Judaea	ΜΥΡΙΝ	Aeolis
ΑΛΥΖ	Acarnania	ΑΣΙΝ	Messenia
ΚαρΘ	Cyclades	Μ ^α _η } θυΜΝ	Lesbos
ΚλαυΔι	Syria (Leucas)	ΦαΛΑΝΝ	Thessaly
ΒερΟΙ	Macedon, Cyr- rhestica	[Η]ΕΝΝ	Sicily
ΒοτΤΙ	Macedon	ΠεΛΙΝΝ	Thessaly
		ΝακΟΝ	Sicily
		ΕλενθΕΡΝ	Crete
		Ζ } μΥΡΝ	Ionia
		ΤιΣΝ	Aeolis
		ΑιΤΝ	Sicily
		ΙΧΝ	Macedon
		ΚΛΕΩΝ	Argolid
		ΜοΘΩΝ	Messenia

ΣΚΙΩΝΑΙΩΝ	Macedon	ΔΙΝΔΙΩΝ	Caria
ΝαΚΩΝ	"	ΜΥΝ	"
ΚοΡΩΝ	Messenia	ΡΟ	"
ΘισΟ	Arcadia	ΑργΕΙΩΝ	Acarnania, Ar-
ΛαΠΠ	Crete		golid
ΚΩΠ	Boeotia	ΟρθΙ	Thessaly
ΚασΣΩΠ	Epirus	Κ	Cyclades
ΛιΠΑΡ	Sicily	ΦΑΛ	Peloponnesus
ΑπΤΑΡ	Crete	ΗΛ	"
ΤαναΓΡ	Boeotia	ΗηραΚΛ	Lucania
ΣιΛΕΡ	Sicily	ΚιΕΡ	Thessaly
ΙΜΕΡ	"	ΘυΡΡ	Acarnania
ΑπΤΕΡ	Crete	ΡοιΤ	Troad
ΦΕΡ	Thessaly	ΜοΥ	Thessaly
ΘΗΡ	Sicily ?, Cyclades	ΗηρακΛΗΙΩΝ	Lucania
ΕρυΘΡ	Ionia	Τ	Ionia
ΑΙΡ	"	ΣκιΑΘΙΩΝ	Thessaly
ΠΕΙΡ	Pontus (Amisus)	ΠεπαρΗ	"
ΑΚΡ	Sicily	ΑΚΑΝ	Macedon
ΚορκΥΡ	Epirus	ΞΑΝ	Lycia
ΔαρΙΣ	Thessaly	ΠΕΡΙΝ	Thrace
ΕΔΕΣΣ	Macedon	ΚΟΡΙΝ	Peloponnese
ΣκοτοΥΣΣ	"	ΖαΚΥΝ	"
ΚοτοΥΣ	"	ΤιΡΥΝ	Argolid
ΥΠΑΤ	Thessaly	ΙΚΙΩΝ	Thessaly
ΛΗΤ	Macedon	ΩΡΙ	Illyricum
ΜεΛΙΤ	Africa	ΟρρεΣ	Macedon
ΟΙΤ	Thessaly	ΟρρηΣ	"
ΕγϋΣΤ	Sicily	ΡΑΥ	Crete
ΦΥΤ	Thrace	ΛΥ	Lycia
ΑΦΥΤ	Macedon	ΜΑΛΙΩΝ	Cyclades
ΜοτΥ	Sicily	ΦαρΣΑ	Thessaly
ΑΧ	Achaea	ΣτυμφΑ	Arcadia
ΔολΙΧ	Commagene	ΒυΒ	Phoenicia
ΦΛΑΒΙΩΝ	Phrygia (Philad., Grimenoth.)	ΔΗ	Cyclades
ΛεΣ	Lesbos	ΜΗ	"
ΑΡΓΙΩΝ	Acarnania	ΤραΙ	Macedon
ΑτΡΑ	Thessaly	ΠΥ	Messenia
ΛευΚΑΔΙΩΝ	Acarnania, Coele Syria	ΚιμΩ	Cyclades
ΑΡΑ	Phoenicia	ΣΑΜΙΩΝ	Ionia, Samo- thrace
ΛεΒΕ	Ionia	ΙδΥ	Caria
ΤεΝΕ	Troad	ΔαρΔΑΝΙΩΝ	Troad
ΨωφΕΙ	Arcadia	ΜεΘΑ	Argolid
ΚΝΙ	Caria	ΜεσΣΑ	Sicily, Messenia
ΨωΦΙ	Arcadia	ΙΤΑ	Crete
ΑσπΕΝ	Pamphylia	ΚλαΖΟΜΕ	Ionia
		ΕΡΧΟΜΕ	Arcadia

ΟΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ	Arcadia	ΘΑΣΙΩΝ	Thrace
ΜεσΣΕ	Sicily	ΦΛΕΙΑ	Phliasia
ΤροΙΖΗ	Argolid	ΧερσονΑ	Crete
ΠερπεΡΗ	Mysia	ΕΛΙΣΦΑ	Arcadia
ΠολΥΡΗ	Crete	ΕΡΕ	Lesbos
ΜεσΣΗ	Sicily, Messenia	ΕΦΕ	Ionian
ΤΗ	Cyclede	ΚοραΚΗ	Cilicia
ΚυΘ	"	Μ[ε]ΙΛΗ	Ionian
ΑΙ	Thrace	ΡησΑΙΝΗ	Mesopotamia
ΤρταΚΙ	Crete	ΑΝΙΝΗ	Lydia
ΚαλυΜ	Caria	ΑλωπεκοΝΝΗ	Thracian Cher- sonnese
ΦαρΚΑΔΟ	Thessaly	ΠρΑΙ	Crete
ΚαλΧΑΔΟ	Bithynia	ΛΙ	"
ΜυΚΟ	Cyclades	ΤΥΛΙ	"
ΛακεδαιΜΟ	Laconia	ΝαΚ	Sicily
ΠρωεΡ	Thessaly	ΠριαΝ	Crete
ΙεραπυΤ	Crete	ΣυρακΟ	Sicily
ΚρανυΟΥ	Thessaly	ΑΣ	Troad
ΓΟΡΤΥ	Crete	Ι ^α ΛΥ	Rhodes
ΚΟΡΤΥ	Arcadia (Gortys)	ΡιΖΟΥ	Thessaly
ΣιΦ	Cyclades	ΚριΘΟΥ	Thracian Cher- sonnese
ΣιΔΩ	Phoenicia	ΕλαΙΟΥ	Cilicia, Thracian Chersonnese
ΚρανΝΩ	Thessaly	ΑνθεΜΟΥ	Mesopotamia
ΓυρΤΩ	"	ΣελιΝΟΥ	Cilicia
ΣικΥΩ	Sicily	ΘελΠΟΥ	Arcadia
ΚολοΦΩ	Ionian	ΚυΩ	Crete
[F]ΑΞΙΩΝ	Crete	ΛΑΤΙΩΝ	"
ΝΑ	Cyclades, Sicily	ΠευΜΑ	Thessaly
ΑμφΑ	Macedon	ΣτΡΑ	Acarmania
ΟλοφΥ	"	Συβρι	Crete
ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ	Attica	ΒυζΑΝ	Thrace
ΑΣΩ	Laconia	ΟΛΩΝ	Crete
ΠΑΡΙΩΝ	Cyclades	ΣελιΝΟΝ	Sicily
ΓΥΑ	"	ΟΠΩΝ	Locris
ΦΑ	Illyricum	ΤραπεΖΟΥΝ	Pontus
Ιμβ	Thrace	ΠεσσιΝΟΥΝ	Galatia
ΑΝΔ	Cyclades	ΚεραΣΟΥΝ	Pontus
ΑνΤΑΝΔ	Troad	ΣΗΣ	Thracian Cher- sonnese
ΚυθΗ	Laconia	ΦαιΣ	Crete
ΚλειΤΟ	Arcadia	ΚαρΥΣ	Euboea
ΑναΚΤΟ	Acarmania	ΒρεΤ	Bruttium
(?) ΝικηΦΟ	Mesopotamia	ΛΥΤ	Crete
ΚυΠ	Cyprus	ΒιρΥ	Troad
ΕΛΥ	Crete		
ΘΟΥ	Lucania		
ΣΥ	Cyclades		
ΝΙΣΥ	Caria		
ΤΥ	Phoenicia		

TAYION	Galatia	ΟυΛΠΙΑΝΩΝ	Thrace (Anchi- alus)
ΦλαΟ "	Phrygia (Phila- delphia, Grime- nothyrae)	ΑΠΠΙ "	Phrygia
ΣερεΙΦΙΩΝ	Cyclades	ΠΑΡΙ "	Mysia
ΧΙΩΝ	Ionia	ΒΡΙ "	Phrygia
Σκ(ΑΨΙΩΝ	Troad	Με(σ ^α ΜΒΡΙ "	Thrace
ΓεΛΩΙΩΝ	Sicily	ΑΔΡΙ "	Mysia
Κ "	Caria	ΣεουΗΡΙ "	Bithynia (Cius and Claudi- opolis), Cilicia (Adana)
ΙΘΑΚΩΝ	Peloponnese	ΑμΟΡΙ "	Ionia (Neapolis), Phrygia
ΘΡΑ "	Pisidia (Apol- lonia)	ΑμΑΣΤΡΙ "	Paphlagonia
ΣαμΟΘΡΑ "	Thrace	ΚαΥΣΤΡΙ "	Lydia
ΓλανΙ "	Gallia	ΤΙ "	Bithynia
ΠετΘΑΛΩΝ	Thessaly	ΚαΛΛΑΤΙ "	Moesia
ΘεσΣΑ "	"	ΤΑΟΥΙ "	Galatia
ΠεριΠΟ "	Samnium	ΦουΛΟΥΙ "	Phrygia
ΠαμφΥ "	Pamphylia (Side)	ΤρΚ "	Lydia
ΑιτΩ "	Aetolia	ΑΘΑΜ "	Epirus
ΑδελφώνΔΗΜΩΝ	Seleucis	ΚΟΜ "	Pontus
ΤροΚ "	Galatia	ΑκαΡΝ "	Acarnania
ΟρΔΑΝΩΝ	Italy	ΚαΜΠ "	Campania
ΜοΖΕ "	Phrygia (Dioclea and Sioccharax)	ΑΡΠ "	Apulia
ΔιοΚΛΕ "	Phrygia	ΥΠ "	Elis
ΜυΡΛΕ "	Bithynia	ΑγκΥΡ "	Phrygia, Galatia
ΜοΞΕ "	Phrygia (Dioclea and Sioccharax)	ΤΥΡ "	Sarmatia
ΚιΛΒΙ "	Lydia	ΑνγουσΤ "	Cilicia
ΟυεΡΒΙ "	Pisidia	ΤυνΤΕΝΩΝ	Macedon
ΔαΛΔΙ "	Lydia	ΑδρΑΗΝΩΝ	Arabia
ΚομΟΔΙ "	Cilicia (Aegeae and Tarsus)	ΓΑΒ "	Trachonitis
ΚΑΡΔΙ "	Thracian Cher- sonnese	ΤΑΒ "	Caria
ΣΑΡΔΙ "	Lydia	ΛαΓΒ "	Pisidia
ΠομπΗΙ "	Cilicia	ΡαβαΘΜΩΒ "	Arabia
ΚΙ "	Bithynia	ΧαραΧΜΩΒ "	"
ΔΕΚΙ "	Cilicia (Mopsus)	ΒΑΓ "	Lydia
ΔΥΚΙ "	Lucania	ΚομΜΑΓ "	Commagene
ΣειΒΑΙ "	Phrygia	ΓοΡΔ "	Lydia
ΤραΛΛΙ "	Lydia	ΑΒΥΔ "	Troad
ΜαξιΜΙ "	Cilicia (Adana)	ΠαλαιοΒΕΥΔ "	Phrygia
ΑΙΝΙ "	Thessaly	ΤιτακΑΖ "	Lydia
ΜαξιΜΕΙΝΙ "	Cilicia (Adana)	ΕρΙΖ "	Phrygia
ΑντωνΕΙΝΙ "	" (Mopsus)	ΒροΥΖ "	"
ΜακΡΕΙΝΙ "	" (Adana)	ΚαΝΑΘ "	Decapolis
		ΜαΡΑΘ "	Phoenicia
		ΒισαΝΘ "	Thrace

ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ	Decapolis	ΒΟΤΡΥΗΝΩΝ	Phoenicia
ΑΛΙ	Phrygia	ΛΑΙΝΩΝ	Lucania
ΙστΡΙ	Moesia	ΜΕΝΑ	Sicily
ΔαμΥΑΚ	Mysia	ΡΗΓ	Bruttium
ΚυΖΙΚ	"	ΣκοΔΡΕ	Illyricum
ΔαμαΣΚ	Coele Syria	ΠΕΤΡΕ	Sicily
ΜΑΛ	Pisidia	ΡυβασΤΕ	Apulia
ΣΑΛ	Lydia	ΠΙΔΚ	Sicily
ΑΒΙΑ	Decapolis	ΕΡΥΚ	"
ΚαΒΥΛ	Thrace	ΠΕΤΗΛ	Bruttium
ΠερΓΑΜ	Mysia	ΚαΙΛ	Apulia
ΚΑΜ	"	ΕντεΛΛ	Sicily
ΚιδΡΑΜ	Caria	ΑΒακαΙΝ	"
ΓΕΡΜ	Lydia	ΣαΛΑΠ	Apulia
ΠοιμαΝ	Mysia	ΚεντοριΠ	Sicily
ΚαΔΟ	Phrygia	ΣαΛΠ	Apulia
ΟΤΡΟ	"	ΠαρΩΠ	Sicily
ΠριΑΠ	Mysia	ΒΑΡ	Apulia
ΤπαΙΠ	Lydia	ΛΑΡ	Frentani
ΟλυΜΠ	Lycia	ΓΑΛΑΡ	Sicily
ΠΑΠΠ	Pisidia	ΣκοΔΡ	Illyricum
ΙΠΠ	Decapolis	ΝουΚΡ	Bruttium
ΒΑΡ	Pisidia	ΑλαΙΣ	Sicily
ΤοΜΑΡ	Lydia	ΕρβηΣΣ	"
ΠερΠΕΡ	Mysia	ΚανΥΣ	Apulia
ΘυατεΙΡ	Lydia	ΤΡΙΔΤ	"
ΣτεκτοΡ	Phrygia	ΑμηστΡΑΤ	Sicily
ΚαΡΡ	Mesopotamia	ΑΖΕΤ	Apulia
ΚΕΣΤΡ	Cilicia	ΙαΙΤ	Sicily
ΒΟΣΤΡ	Arabia	ΚαλαΚΤ	"
ΣεφΩΡ	Galilee	ΑκρΑΓΑΝΤ	"
ΒαρΓΑΣ	Caria	ΜοΡΓΑΝΤ	"
ΑρΠΑΣ	"	ΤαΡΑΝΤ	Calabria
ΕμΙΣ	Syria	ΟρΣΑΝΤ	"
ΕΔΕΣΣ	Mesopotamia	ΔΕΟΝΤ	Sicily
ΚολΟΣΣ	Phrygia	ΑΛΟΝΤ	"
ΚανΑΤ	Decapolis	ΣΟΛΟΝΤ	"
ΠΑΛΤ	Syria	ΜεταΠΙΟΝΤ	Lucania
ΠΕΛΤ	Phrygia	ΒυΤΟΝΤ	Apulia
ΣεΒΑΣΤ	Pontus, Cilicia, Phrygia, Sa- maria	ΜαμεΡΤ	Sicily
ΜΟΣΤ	Lydia	ΔαμΑΣΤ	Illyricum
ΣαιΤΤ	"	ΤενΕΣΤ	"
ΑδραμΥΤ	Mysia	ΠρωΝΝΩΝ	Cephalenia
ΒιΖΥ	Thrace	ΛυΚΑΟΝΩΝ	Lycaonia
		ΠΑ	Paeonia
		ΜακεΔ	Macedon ²

² See also under Beroea Mac.

ΜειΖΟΝΩΝ	Pisidia (Termessus)	ΚΕ[Ν]ΝΑΤΩΝ	Cilicia
ΜΑΙ	Lydia	ΤρεΒΕΝΝ	Lycia
ΠΑΙ	Paeonia	ΣαρΝΟ	Illyricum
ΒυΛΛΙ	Illyricum	ΚιβΥΡ	Phrygia, Cilicia
ΑμφικΤΙ	Phocis	ΑιγελΡ	Achaea
[Ε]ΙΩΝΩΝ	Thrace (Perinthus), Phrygia (Synnada)	ΚΑΣ	Cilicia
ΦιλιΠΠΩΝ	Macedon	ΑρταξιΣ	Armenia
ΤαυΛΑΡΩΝ	Pontus	ΑττΑΕΤΩΝ	Mysia
ΓανΓ	Paphlagonia	ΕΘ	Thessaly?
ΚαβΗ	Pontus	ΣΙΔΗΤΩΝ	Pamphylia
ΛοΚ	Locris, Bruttium	ΡΟΔ	Hispania
Βοστ	Arabia	ΑινΕ	Macedon
ΙσΑΥ	Isauria	Ι	Cyclades
ΓαζΟΥ	Pontus	ΚΙ	Cilicia (Anemurium, Philadelphia, Coropiss.)
ΓερΑΣΩΝ	Decapolis	ΜασσαΛΙ	Gallia
ΠιμωΛΙ	Paphlagonia	ΒαρΥΛΙ	Caria
ΕΜΙ	Syria	ΚεραΜΙ	"
ΔαοΡ	Illyricum	ΚαινιΚ	Gallia
ΜολοΣ	Epirus	ΛογγοστΑΛ	"
ΜΥ	Phrygia	ΥΕΛ	Lucania
ΓαΓΑΤΩΝ	Lycia	ΜαΓΝ	Thessaly, Ionia, Lydia
ΓαΖΕ	Judaea	ΑιγελΝ	Aegina
ΓυΘΕ	Laconia	ΜινΟ	Cyclades
ΑτταΛΕ	Lydia	ΚΡ	Crete
ΡεφΑΝΕ	Seleucis	ΑΒΒΑΙΤΩΝ	Phrygia
ΤΕΝΕ	Peloponnese	ΓαΖ	Judaea
ΦΕΝΕ	Arcadia	ΕΛ	Aeolis
ΚυδΩΝΕ	Crete	ΛεοΝΝ	Phrygia
ΑΣΕ	Arcadia	ΣΥΝ	"
ΒοτΤΕ	Macedon	ΠαντικαΠ	Tauric Chersonese
ΜοΥΕ	Thessaly, Cilicia	ΚεΡ	Pisidia
ΖανΘΗ	Mesopotamia	ΑτΤ	Mysia
ΑινΕΙ	Macedon	ΑΧ	? ⁴
ΠυΘΙ	" ? ³	ΛυρΒΙΤΩΝ	Cilicia
ΚυΔΩΝΙ	Crete	ΠελαΓΙΤΩΝ	Epirus
ΑποΛΛΩΝΙ	Lydia, Mysia, Caria, Pisidia	—ΕΙΤΩΝ	See —ΙΤΩΝ
ΒΟΙ	Laconia	ΣιοχαρκΙΤΩΝ	Phrygia
ΘουΡΙ	Messenia	ΖΗΑΙΤΩΝ	Pontus
ΚαφΥΙ	Arcadia	ΥδΡΗ	Phrygia
ΓαΛ	Galatia	ΕρμokaΠΗ	Lydia
ΛακΑΝ	Cilicia	ΦαΣΗ	Lycia

³ *Wiener Monatsbl.*, V. p. 281.⁴ *Rev. Suisse*, 1913, p. 112.

ΦΕΛΛΙΤΩΝ	Lycia	Φιλιπποπολιτών	Thrace,
Αντιφελ	"		Thessaly,
ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	Ionia, Macedon, Caria		Arabia
Ροδία	Lycia	ΙΕΡ	Phrygia,
ΙεΡΑ	Phrygia	"	Cilicia,
ΤΡΙ	Lydia, Phoenicia		Cyrrhescia,
			Pontus
			(Heraclea)
Αμφι	Macedon	Μ{ ^α ΤΡ	Thessaly,
ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	Pisidia	(^η)	Ionia,
Ηρακλε	Pontus		Phrygia
ΝΕ	Campania, Apulia	Διονυσ	Moesia,
		"	Phrygia
Τραπεζ	Caria	ΜελιηΤ	Mysia
Σκυθ	Samaria	ΣεβασΤ	Pontus,
Παλαί	Pisidia	"	Caria
Φλαβί	Phrygia		
Ολβί	Sarmatia (Olbia)	Απερλιτών	Lycia
		ΓΑΥ	Gaulos
ΚΛΑΥΔΙ	Bithynia, Cilicia	ΒριΟΥ	Lydia
		ΤμΩ	"
Νεοκλαυδί	Paphlagonia	ΤΟΜΙΤΩΝ	Moesia
Πομπήι	Cilicia, Paphlagonia	Αιζανιτών	Phrygia
		ΤΑ	Crete
Αυρηλί	Lydia	ΚΥΑ	Lycia
ΙοΥλί	Bithynia	Π{ ^ο ωρ[δ]οσελΗ	Lesbos
Τιβερι	Phrygia		
Τιτί	Cilicia	ΤΑΜ	Aeolis
Φλαυί	Bithynia, Cilicia	ΤΗΜ	"
		Π[ε]Ο	Troad
ΝΙΚ	Moesia, Thrace, Pontus, Syria, Judaea	ΑσκαλΩ	Judaea
		ΚΟΛΩ	Messenia
		ΜαΡΩ	Thrace
Γερμανικ	Cilicia	Ιωταπιτών	Cilicia
Μεγαλ	Arcadia	ΑΣΩ	Laconia
ΤΡΑΙΑΝ	Thrace, Phrygia	Κελενδεριτών	Cilicia
		Απολλωνιε	Lydia
Μαρκιαν	Moesia	Διοσιε	"
Αδριαν	Thrace, Phrygia, Cilicia	ΑβΔΗ	Thrace
		ΑδριανοΘΗ	Mysia
Δομιτιαν	Phrygia (Sala)	Τοπει	Thrace
		ΦαναΓΟ	Bosporus
Ειρήην	Cilicia	ΕμΠΟ	Hispania
Πλωτειν	Thrace	ΜασταΥ	Lydia
ΙΩΝ	Paphlagonia	ΔΩ	Phoenicia
		Νακρασιτών	Lydia
		ΟδηΣ	Thrace
		Χωματιτών	Lycia

ΛαεPTITΩΝ	Cilicia	ΒαΛΑΝΕΩΤΩΝ	Syria
KYITΩΝ	Caria	ΡαΦΑΝΕ	„
Μ „	Cilicia	ΚωρυΚΙ	„
ΓορδιΟΤΕΙΧΙΤΩΝ	Caria	ΠοΔΑΛΙ	„
ΠανεΜΟΤΕΙ „	Pisidia	ΠαυΤΑΛΙ	„
ΑβωΝΟΤΕΙ „	Paphlagonia	ΚαραΛΛΙ	„
ΧαβαΚΤΩΝ	Pontus	ΒΟΙ	„
ΑμΑΝΤΩΝ	Illyricum	ΖεφυΡΙ	„
ΦιλοσεΒΑΣΤΩΝ	Caria (Stratonicæa)	ΑκρΑΣΙ	„
ΦαΚΙΑ „	Thessaly	ΚορακΗΣΙ	„
ΦαλωΡΙΑ „	„	Μαλλ	„
Κυρρη „	Cyrrhestica	ΛΙΒΥΩΝ	„
ΗρακΛΕΩΤΩΝ	Macedon,	ΔΕΛΦΩΝ	„
	Ionian,	ΑΔΕΛ „	„
	Caria	ΑμφιΛΟΧΩΝ	„
			(Argos)

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD.

To the bibliography of Head's works, which was promised in the last issue of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, we are glad to be allowed to prefix the sympathetic notice which was contributed to the *Athenaeum* for June 20 by one who knew him well. We take the opportunity also of mentioning that he was elected an honorary member of the Academia Romana of Bukarest a few days after his death, but before the news had reached the Academy.

Barclay Head was one of the rare and happy men who seem to have been born to do a particular piece of work in the world, and to do it admirably. Most people will think of ancient numismatics as a small field of specialist study, almost as a refuge of dilettantism. They will admire the exquisite productions of the mint of Cyzicus or Syracuse, and pass them by. But Head saw that coins are serious historical monuments, that they contain in a nutshell the whole history of the cities which issued them, and that by an intensive and comparative study of them ancient history can be made real and living.

He entered the Department of Coins in the British Museum in 1864, and about 1870 was set by the Keeper

of Coins, R. S. Poole, to work on the newly planned Catalogue of Greek Coins, of which the first volume appeared in 1873 and the twenty-seventh in 1914. Every scientific specialist knows that compiling catalogues is the best of all training. The work of cataloguing thoroughly suited Head. He had unlimited patience, an excellent talent for comparison, a sense of style in art, and a great love of historic research. The preliminary work in preparing the Catalogue of the Coins of Sicily gave him his opportunity. The beauty of Sicilian coins, and their value to Greek mythology, had long been recognized; but no one had yet worked out their value as historic documents on the political and commercial history of the island. Brandis and Mommsen had seen the lacuna, but their pupils had as yet done little to fill it.

Head's paper on the Coinage of Syracuse, published in 1874, was but 80 pages long, but it revealed a true historic method applied for the first time to the whole of the coinage of an ancient city. Its value was immediately recognized abroad; the French Academy crowned it, and the University of Heidelberg bestowed a Doctorate on the writer. From this time Head's task lay clear before him: to treat other series of Greek coins by the same method which had been successful in the case of Syracuse, and so by degrees to make numismatics not a morass, but a cultivated field with paths in all directions. Hence came the great *Historia Numorum*, published by the Oxford University Press in 1887, of which a new edition came out in 1911. It has enjoyed the honour of being translated into modern Greek, and has become an invaluable book of reference to all who have worked upon Greek history. English historical writers generally find

much of their material in German books; but in the matter of numismatics Head turned the tables. He won the rare distinction of being a corresponding member of the Academies both of France and Prussia. A Doctorate at Oxford came appropriately, though somewhat late.

What kind of reputation he had acquired throughout Europe was best shown when he retired from the British Museum. A volume of numismatic papers then published in his honour contained contributions from almost all the authorities on ancient numismatics. Of the thirty contributors, ten wrote in German, five in French, one in Italian, and one in Greek. It was an oecumenical offering, and the day on which Sir John Evans, in the name of the subscribers, presented the first copy of the book to him was a fitting consummation of his career. The volume was well entitled *Corolla Numismatica*. Barclay Head was Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals from 1893 till 1906. He was also joint editor of *The Numismatic Chronicle* from 1869 to 1910.

In England there is not much endowment of research; but the British Museum serves, in fact, as a great institution for the purpose. The Museum never fostered a better example of research than Head. In character he was the typical student of the sort at his best: sweet-tempered, of infinite patience, perfectly free alike from self-assertion and from jealousy of his colleagues. He was always ready to retract on Monday a view published on Saturday, if good cause were shown. He always weighed in even balance his own published opinions and those of others; yet his mind was so well poised and cautious that he seldom had to retract. More than a specialist he was not; probably he never published a line on any subject but numismatics; yet so blameless

a career, and a success within its own limits so complete, can seldom have been exhibited in any country.

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XII.

A FIND OF LONG-CROSS PENNIES AT SLYPE (WEST FLANDERS).

I AM indebted to M. A. Visart de Bocarmé, who published this find in *Rev. Belge*, 1914, pp. 71-72, and to M. le Baron Maleingreau d'Hembise, the owner of the coins, for putting themselves to much trouble in order to enable me to see a large portion of the coins found at Slype. The number of coins found is estimated at about 2000, and of these I have seen rather more than 1350; they were English Long-cross pennies of Henry III, with the customary addition of a few Scottish and Irish pennies of the same period; the usual accompaniment of Continental sterlings was apparently absent from this hoard.

The hoard is very similar to that recently found at Steppingley (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 60 ff.), but slightly earlier in date. Of Renaud of London we have 7 coins as against 123 at Steppingley, none of Ambroci or Ricard at Canterbury, and at Bury St. Edmunds 1 of Renaud but none of Stephane, the later Ion, or Ioce; this Renaud was appointed at Bury in 1258 and Ion de Burnedisse (of whom we have no coins) in 1265. The burial of the hoard must therefore have taken place very near the year 1260.

The following brief description analyses the portion of

the hoard, which I have seen, in the arrangement of types proposed by Mr. Lawrence in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. ix., pp. 145 ff., and *Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 60 ff.

ENGLISH (HENRY III—LONG-CROSS).

	I.	II.	III.			IV.	V.						
			a	b	c		a	b	c	d	e	f	g
LONDON—	7 ¹												
NICOLE		12	36	35	33		27	57	3				
HENRI			10	27	15		12	23	23			7	12
DAVI					2		6	7	11	1		2	
RICARD					1		10	19	22			3	16
WILLEM									16	3		4	20
JOHN									6			3	
WALTER									4			2	17
THOMAS													
ROBERT													
RENAUD													7
PHELIP													
CANTERBURY—													
NICOLE		6	15	22	18	2	16	47	18	4		5	18
WILLEM		1	3	5	5	1	9	23	52 ²	4 ³		7	42
GILBERT		1	1	3	2		7	8	22	1		5	8
JOHN							4	13	35	3		2	13
ROBERT									9			1	17
WALTER									4 ⁴	1	1	2	8
ALEIN													5
AMBROCI													
RICARD													
BURY ST. EDMUNDS—													
JOHN		1		4	4		4						
RANDULF								9	8				
RENAUD													1
STEPHANE													
JOHN													
JOCE													

¹ Four are mules having reverse of type II. with name of Nicole.

² Three are mules having reverse of V. d reading WILLÆMONKAI.

³ One is a mule with reverse of V. c reading WILLÆMONDANT.

⁴ One is a mule with reverse of V. d reading WALTÆROWKAI.

DURHAM	Ricard	V. <i>b</i> (3).
BRISTOL	Elis	III. <i>b</i> (6), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Jacob	III. <i>b</i> (5), III. <i>c</i> (2).
CARLISLE	John	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
	Willem	III. <i>b</i> (2).
EXETER	John	III. <i>a</i> (2), III. <i>b</i> (1).
	Philip	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1).
	Robert	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (1).
	Walter	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1).
GLOUCESTER	Lucas	III. <i>b</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	John	III. <i>a</i> (2), III. <i>b</i> (1), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Ricard	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
	Roger	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
HEREFORD	Ricard	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (2).
	Roger	III. <i>b</i> (2).
	Walter	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
ILCHESTER	Huge	III. <i>b</i> (3).
	Randulf	III. <i>b</i> (4).
	Jerveis	III. <i>b</i> (1).
LINCOLN	John	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (9).
	Ricard	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
	Walter	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (6), III. <i>c</i> (3).
	Willem	II. (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
NEWCASTLE	Adam	III. <i>b</i> (5).
	Henri	III. <i>b</i> (1), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	John	III. <i>b</i> (4), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Roger	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (1).
NORTHAMPTON	Lucas	III. <i>b</i> (2).
	Philip	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (6).
	Tomas	III. <i>a</i> (3), III. <i>b</i> (4), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Willem	III. <i>a</i> (3), III. <i>b</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Huge	III. <i>a</i> (5), III. <i>b</i> (1), III. <i>c</i> (4).
NORWICH	Jacob	III. <i>a</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	John	III. <i>a</i> (5), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Willem	III. <i>b</i> (6).
	Adam	III. <i>a</i> (4), III. <i>b</i> (3).
OXFORD	Gefrei	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Henri	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (3), III. <i>b</i> (4).
	Willem	III. <i>a</i> (3), III. <i>b</i> (7).

SHREWSBURY	Lorens	III. <i>a</i> (1).
	Nicole	III. <i>b</i> (1), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Peres	III. <i>b</i> (1), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Ricard	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (1).
WALLINGFORD	Alisandre	III. <i>a</i> (2).
	Robert	III. <i>a</i> (2).
WILTON	Huge	III. <i>b</i> (3).
	John	III. <i>b</i> (3), III. <i>c</i> (2).
	Willem	III. <i>b</i> (3).
WINCHESTER	Huge	III. <i>b</i> (4), III. <i>c</i> (3).
	Jurdain	III. <i>a</i> (2), III. <i>b</i> (3), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Nicole	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (1).
	Willem	III. <i>b</i> (4), III. <i>c</i> (2).
YORK	Alain	III. <i>a</i> (4), III. <i>b</i> (1).
	Jeremie	II. (1), III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (3).
	John	III. <i>a</i> (1), III. <i>b</i> (5).
	Renier	III. <i>a</i> (2), III. <i>b</i> (2), III. <i>c</i> (2).
	Tomas	III. <i>b</i> (7).

21 coins of uncertain mints or moneyers.

3 contemporary forgeries and 2 blundered coins.

SCOTTISH (Alexander III—Long-cross).

Aberdeen (1), Berwick (8), Dun[dee?] (1), Forfar? (1), Perth (3), Roxburgh (1).

IRISH (Henry III—Long-cross).

Dublin (10).

Irish-English mule with reverse reading ADMONNEVEDA .


G. C. BROOKE.

MISCELLANEA.

A HOARD OF COINS OF TEMNOS.

A NUMBER of small copper coins of Temnos, of the third century B.C., recently reached me from Smyrna: and a few days later a lot consisting of similar coins was offered for sale at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms on February 3, 1914, and was purchased by Mr. Baldwin, who very kindly lent them to me for comparison with my own. As the two groups had evidently formed part of the same hoard, I asked Mr. E. D. Barff of Smyrna, who had obtained mine for me, to make inquiries about them; and he ascertained that about three hundred coins, all of similar types, had been found together with five or six tetradrachms of Alexander bearing the Temnos symbol, a bunch of grapes, on the hills above the Menemen plain and brought into Smyrna for sale.

There were fifty-two coins in my lot, and thirty-eight were lent to me by Mr. Baldwin: both groups consisted of the four following varieties, in about equal proportions in each of the two:—

- (1) *Obv.*—Youthful head of Dionysos r., wearing wreath of ivy, hair falling on neck in locks.
Rev.—Vine-branch with bunch of grapes and leaves; in field, below, T A, to r.  (11 specimens).
- (2) *Obv.*—Head of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair falling on neck in locks.
Rev.—Warrior standing r., wearing crested helmet and cuirass; in raised r. hand a short javelin, on l. arm a round shield; in field, below, T A (5 specimens).
- (3) Similar to (2), but on reverse also in field, above, A Θ (27 specimens).
- (4) Similar to (2), but on reverse also in field, above, Φ Z (47 specimens).

The die-position in practically all cases was ↑↑, only six examples showing an irregularity of a few degrees: and the normal diameter was 13 mm., five specimens of (1), one of (3), and eight of (4), measuring 12 mm.; one of (2), four of (3), and three of (4), 14 mm.; and one of (3), 15 mm.

I compared the dies of all the coins, and weighed them, with the following results. The obverse dies are lettered in capitals, the reverse in small letters, in each variety in

separate series: the weights are in grammes: the order is the same in each case.

- (1) *Dies*.—Aa, Bb, Cc, Dd, Ee, Ef, Fg, Fh, Gd, He, Ii.
Weights.—1.56, 2.02, 1.93, 1.72, 1.92, 1.65, 2.17, 2.46, 1.70, 1.95, 2.20.
- (2) *Dies*.—Aa, Ab, Bb, Bb, Cc.
Weights.—1.81, 2.08, 2.21, 1.99, 2.18.
- (3) *Dies*.—Aa, Ab, Ac, Ba, Ba, Bc, Bc, Cb, Dd, Dd, De, Df, Eg, Eh, Fi, Fk, Gi, Gl, Gl, Gm, Hl, Hl, Hn, Ho, Ip, Kg.
Weights.—2.19, 1.81, 2.45, 2.34, 1.79, 1.69, 1.92, 1.90, 2.11, 2.36, 1.69, 1.96, 2.15, 1.71, 1.70, 1.91, 1.58, 3.31, 1.88, 2.09, 2.39, 1.87, 2.53, 1.90, 1.95, 2.11, 1.77.
- (4) *Dies*.—Aa, Aa, Ab, Ab, Ab, Ab, Ac, Ac, Ad, Ad, Ae, Ae, Af, Af, Ba, Bg, Bg, Bh, Ca, Cd, Ce, Ci, Dk, Dk, El, El, El, Fc, Ff, Fm, Gn, Gn, Ho, Ho, Hp, Iq, Kr, Ls, Mt, Nu, Ow, Pl, Qx, Ry, Sz, Ts, Uaa.
Weights.—2.23, 2.10, 2.16, 1.63, 1.61, 2.35, 1.81, 1.82, 1.72, 2.34, 2.60, 1.79, 2.16, 1.93, 2.20, 2.30, 1.81, 3.35, 2.35, 1.98, 2.40, 1.68, 1.82, 2.00, 1.70, 1.96, 2.55, 2.52, 2.05, 1.39, 1.60, 2.02, 2.37, 2.05, 2.09, 2.09, 2.06, 1.55, 1.64, 2.02, 1.70, 2.75, 1.92, 2.07, 1.78, 1.39, 1.95.

It will be observed that in the case of type (1) there were nine different obverse dies and nine different reverse noted: in type (2), three and three; in type (3), ten and sixteen; in type (4), twenty and twenty-five. There were no instances of the same obverse die being used for coins belonging to different varieties in (2), (3), and (4).

There is an account of what is clearly a part of the same hoard in *Monatsbl. Num. Ges. Wien*, 1913, p. 164. In this note eighty coins are described, which are said to have been found by a shepherd at Nymphii, 25 km. east of Smyrna: there were eight specimens of (1), two of (2), forty-one of (3), and twenty-nine of (4). It is also mentioned that eighty-one coins of similar types were subsequently in the hands of a Smyrna dealer.

J. G. MILNE.

ON THE SERIES OF QUADRANTES USUALLY ASSIGNED TO THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.

IN an ingenious and interesting article,¹ Signor Lodovico Laffranchi has suggested a new attribution for this somewhat mysterious series; he would remove it from the reign of Augustus, in which it has hitherto by general consent been placed, and assign it to various dates within the period 35–50 A.D. But personally I have not been convinced by his able pleading; and I should like to state briefly why I still hold to the old arrangement.

¹ *Riv. Ital.*, 1911, 319 ff.

Signor Laffranchi's arguments may be summarized thus :

(1) The style of these quadrantes is unlike that of the sestertii, dupondii, and asses of Augustus, bearing moneyers' names, but identical with that of the quadrantes of Caligula and Claudius.

(2) Such of the moneyers as we can trace may with better reason be assigned to the end of the reign of Tiberius than to the reign of Augustus.

(3) The survival of the names of moneyers on the smallest denomination, after they had disappeared from the larger, is not so very surprising, and analogies can also be adduced for the omission of the name of the Emperor.

(4) It finds these quadrantes always occur in company with coins of Caligula and Claudius, never with coins of Augustus.

I will first attempt to answer these arguments and then add some evidence on the other side.

(1) Style is a difficult matter to discuss. For myself I cannot see the identity of style and fabric between these quadrantes and those of Caligula and Claudius. Considerable similarity there certainly is, but not enough to require us to place the two series immediately together. Neither series of quadrantes bears any close resemblance to the larger denominations. Coming to details, I would point out that the S. C. on this series of quadrantes is markedly distinct from that on the quadrantes of Caligula and Claudius and very similar to that on the sestertii, dupondii, and asses of Augustus.

(2) Since we have no means of proving that our moneyers are the same as men of like names mentioned elsewhere, arguments based on this ground can hardly be conclusive. As a matter of fact, there is no clear evidence here in favour of Signor Laffranchi's view. We find on these quadrantes a moneyer Apronius; if we accept the ordinary dating, we can identify him with an L. Apronius, who was consul in 8 A.D. A "P. Silius, P. f." was consul in 3 A.D.; he may well be the Silius of our coins. The C. Rubellius Blandus, who was "quaestor divi Augusti" and consul before 20 A.D., and the Livineius Regulus mentioned by Tacitus in the year 20 A.D. may be identical with the moneyers C. Rubellius Blandus and Regulus. The Betilienus Bassus, mentioned by Seneca as a quaestor of C. Caesar, cannot, on our dating, be identified with the moneyer; he may, of course, have been his son or grandson. The fact is that our information about the moneyers is far too slight and indefinite to justify us in drawing any certain conclusion from it; I cannot see that it militates against the ordinary attribution.

(3) That the names of the moneyers should survive on the quadrans, after disappearing from the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, is certainly not inconceivable; but that they did not in fact so survive is surely proved by the quadrantes of Caligula and Claudius, on which they are missing. Again, the absence of the Emperor's name is not very surprising; according to our own theory the name of Augustus is omitted; but that in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius the Emperor's name appeared on the quadrans is surely proved by the series of quadrantes on which the names actually appear. I cannot believe that two series of quadrantes—one, with name of moneyer, but without name of Emperor; the other, with name of Emperor, but without name of moneyer—alternated with one another, as Signor Laffranchi would have us believe.

(4) Any definite evidence from finds is, of course, worthy of full consideration, and I look forward to receiving from Signor Laffranchi chapter and verse for his statement. But I must protest against the use of such vague assertions in argument; one can neither accept nor reject them, and can only suspend judgment.

I will add one positive argument in favour of the accepted date, which seems to me well-nigh conclusive. Mr. George Macdonald, in an interesting article in *Corolla Numismatica*,² has discussed the importance of die-position as a criterion of the date and place of minting and has given examples of its use. If we apply this test here, we obtain a remarkably clear result; the quadrantes with moneyers' names show no regularity of die-position, the quadrantes of Caligula and Claudius a regularity that, so far as I can trace, is never broken;³ and, in this matter, the former series agrees with the sestertii, dupondii, and asses of Augustus, the latter with the same denominations of Caligula and Claudius. This apparently slight piece of evidence will, I think, be seen to rule out Signor Laffranchi's view. We are left, then, with the ordinary attribution of these coins to the period from 15 B.C. onwards, which is perhaps the most likely time for them; absolute proof can hardly be looked for.

I shall look with interest for further arguments from Signor Laffranchi in support of his view—especially for a definite statement on the subject of finds; till then, I must

² *Fixed and Loose Dies in Ancient Coinage*, pp. 178ff.

³ Twenty coins in the British Museum *all* show the same die-position. From the beginning of the reign of Caligula this position becomes well-nigh invariable on Roman brass.

reluctantly express my dissent from his conclusions, while fully acknowledging my warm appreciation of his acute and successful researches on Roman Numismatics.

H. MATTINGLY.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES I.

(From the verdicts at the pyx trials.)

IN *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. X., p. 393, I published a table which showed in the fourth column the quantities of silver money contained in the pyxes which were opened at the Star Chamber. Some of our Fellows who are interested in this period having expressed a wish for the corresponding *data* as to the two classes of gold coins, I have compiled and now offer to the Society the desired particulars, which have been obtained from Exch: acc'ts, "Proceedings on trials of the pyx," bundle 3, vols. 1 and 2, at the Public Record Office.

The appended table does not allude to the rose ryal for 30s. and the spur ryal for 15s., which were ordered by an indenture of 2 Charles I, and confirmed by a commission in the King's eleventh year; neither of these denominations was found in any of the pyxes, nor are the two coins otherwise known.

During the earlier part of the reign the coinage of 22 c. gold was considerable, while that of silver was relatively very small, as is shown by the two sets of figures. Later on, however, the position was reversed; crown-gold was struck in steadily diminishing quantities, whereas the aggregate of the silver coinage during the last ten years largely exceeded that of the higher metal. Therefore the comparative rarity of the mint-marks on gold and silver respectively varies according to the period in which they were used. For example, the "Heart" is seldom met with on the silver issues, but it occurs quite frequently on crown-gold coins; on the other hand, the "R in two semi-circles" is commonly seen on silver, but is rare on the unite or its half or quarter.

As to the angels of 23 c. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. gold, they were without exception struck in very limited numbers, and all their marks are rare, some more so than others. Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon says on p. 150 of his *Gold Coins* that none were issued after 1634, but the pyx returns confute this opinion, and I have seen at least one example marked with "Triangle in a circle," the symbol on the coins which were tried in May, 1643. This, the latest of the angels, was in fact struck before November 25, 1642, on which day the Parliamentary receiver of the

Tower revenues began a new account, which mentions that no angel-gold was used during the period of about two and a half years covered by that document. It is a debatable topic whether these angels, although duly authorized for general circulation, were not made solely as touch pieces. The few which exist are almost always pierced for suspension, and there is also the significant circumstance that shortly after the King was dispossessed of the Tower, in August, 1642, the striking of angels entirely ceased, possibly because they were not then regarded as current coins, but rather as medals associated with a ceremony the underlying principle of which did not commend itself to an anti-royalist party.

HENRY SYMONDS.

Date of trial.	Mint-mark.	Amount of 23 c. 3½ grs. gold in pyx (Angels).	Amount of 22 c. gold in pyx (Unites, double crowns, and Britain crowns).
		£	£
June 29, 1626	Fleur-de-lys	1	613
April 27, 1627	Blackmoor's head	1.10.0	122
" " ¹	Long cross (second pyx)	10s. (i.e. one angel)	291
July 3, 1628	Castle	8.10.0	375
June 26, 1629	Anchor	6	178
June 23, 1630	Heart	3.10.0	335
June 30, 1631	Feathers	1.10.0	374
June 21, 1632	Rose	4	170
July 11, 1633	Harp	6	141
June 27, 1634	Portcullis	3.10.0	98
June 18, 1635	Bell	3.10.0	110
Feb. 14, 1636	Crown	nil	28
" " ²	Crown (second pyx)	3.10.0	176
May 8, 1638	Tun	3.10.0	102
July 4, 1639	Anchor	3	113
June 26, 1640	Triangle	4	41
July 15, 1641	Star	3.10.0	92
May 29, 1643 ³	Triangle in a circle	1.10.0	143
July 15, 1644	P in two semi-circles	nil	67
May 12, 1645	R " " "	"	46
Nov. 10, 1645	Eye	"	24
Feb. 15, 1646	Sun	"	78
Nov. 9, 1649	Sceptre	"	62

¹ The two pyxes were due to a change of officers, not to an alteration in the coins. The "Long cross" coins must have been earlier than those with "Blackmoor's head," although the former were in the second pyx.

² Caused by the same reason as in 1627 (see note, *supra*).

³ In June, 1643, "a new pix box with locks hinges and bindings" was bought from Richard Martin at a cost of 68s. (Declared acc'ts Pipe office, 2186).

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

British Museum: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda.* By John Allan, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Coins. With 24 Plates. London, Printed by order of the Trustees, 1914.

THE Catalogue of the early pre-Muhammadan Indian Coins in the British Museum, begun many years ago by Professor Percy Gardner's standard work on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian issues, was continued after a long interval by Professor Rapson's exhaustive treatise on the obscure coinages of the Āndhras and their contemporaries. Mr. John Allan has now produced a third volume dealing with the coinage of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, and also with certain minor connected mintages. Mr. Allan's work is quite equal in quality to that accomplished by his eminent predecessors. His catalogue has been produced, as is always the case with the publications of the Trustees of the British Museum, regardless of expense, the plates being numerous and beautifully executed, while the legends of each coin are reproduced in facsimile. The printing is accurate, and clerical errors or misprints are extremely few. Mr. Allan has devoted special study to the subject for several years past, and has read everything published concerning it. His official position has enabled him to collect material from a great variety of sources and to enrich his catalogue by the inclusion of specimens not comprised in the Museum series, which is by far the best in the world.

The Gupta coinage having been studied by me from time to time for more than thirty years, I propose to discuss briefly some of the more interesting problems suggested by the coins. As might be expected, Mr. Allan has been able to make some corrections in my work, especially in the reading of certain legends. He has devoted immense pains to the elucidation of the more difficult legends and has attained considerable success, although a good many details still remain obscure.

The coinage of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty is by far the most interesting of the Hindu series of coins, as distinguished from the essentially foreign Graeco-Bactrian and the more than half-foreign Indo-Scythian series. The only Hindu coins possessing any substantial claim to artistic merit are those belonging to a few classes of the gold issues struck by the great Gupta emperors within the space of about a century,

350-450 A.D. The artistic excellence thus displayed in the coinage was only one manifestation of the extraordinary intellectual activity of the age in question, which expressed itself in sculpture, painting, literature, and science. I have lately discussed the brilliant achievements of the Gupta age in the third edition of the *Early History of India* and in an article on Gupta Sculpture in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1914), which may be consulted by persons interested. Mr. Allan passes over the topic. Here it will suffice to say that I have no doubt that the Gupta Renaissance was intimately connected with and stimulated by the active intercourse maintained between the Gupta Empire and the Graeco-Roman civilization of Egypt and Western Asia.

The comparatively high artistic quality of the Gupta coinage, as seen in the best pieces struck by Samudra-gupta and his son Chandra-gupta II, is only one of the reasons for the exceptional interest of the Gupta coinage. A second equally potent reason is that the coins can be studied in the light of numerous contemporary dated inscriptions, as well as of the narrative recorded by the first Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien (Fahsien), who travelled in the Gupta empire in the reign of Chandra-gupta II at the beginning of the fifth century. The chronology in its main outline is certain, and the evidence of the coins, consequently, can be used with unusual confidence and effect. They throw light on the contemporary records and works of art, while those records and works in their turn help us to understand the coinage. For instance, the inscriptions of Samudra-gupta's successors tell us about his celebration of the *Āśvamedha* or Horse-Sacrifice, and the Allahabad panegyric describes the royal skill in the art of music. The coins include about sixteen specimens of the gold medals distributed by the king to the Brahmans engaged in the sacrifice, and another type, of which about eleven examples are known, depicts His Majesty in the act of playing the lyre. Many other illustrations of the extraordinary value of the Gupta coins as historical documents might be cited. To mention one only, we learn from the coins alone that Kumāra-gupta I, like his grandfather, celebrated the Horse-Sacrifice in vindication of his claim to paramount sovereignty. The extant inscriptions do not happen to mention the fact.

The first member of the dynasty to attain independent power was Chandra-gupta I (320 to about 335 A.D.), who ruled the Gangetic basin, including the modern province of Oudh, from below Patna to Allahabad (Prayāg). Certain gold coins, of which about a score are known, present on the obverse effigies of Chandra-gupta I and his queen Kumāra-

devī, with their names, and on the reverse a goddess with the marginal legend, *Licchavayah*, "the Licchavis," in the nominative plural. We know from the inscriptions that Kumāradevī was a princess of the famous Licchavi clan of Tirhūt, often mentioned in early Buddhist legend, and that her son, the great conqueror, Samudra-gupta, was proud of his Licchavi descent. The coins, on the face of them, appear to have been struck by Chandra-gupta I, and the reverse legend, in the nominative plural, may be interpreted as meaning that they were issued under the joint authority of Chandra-gupta and his consort's clan. It may be assumed as probable that the Licchavi alliance was the foundation of the power of Chandra-gupta. That view, maintained in my publications of various dates, has been generally accepted.

But Mr. Allan holds that the Gupta coinage began rather late in the reign of Samudra-gupta, who struck the pieces in question to commemorate the marriage of his parents. Mr. Allan accordingly catalogues these coins ("King and Queen" type of my nomenclature) under the name of Samudra-gupta. He bases his opinion on the observations that these King and Queen coins are rather more removed from the northern Kushān type than are the Standard (*alias* "Javelin" or "Spearman") type coins of Samudra-gupta, and that the fabric closely resembles that of many pieces issued by that prince. I confess that the arguments are not convincing to my mind. If Samudra-gupta did not issue any coinage until "a comparatively late period" in his reign, it would be odd conduct for him then to commemorate the marriage of his parents by the issue of coins recording their names, but not making the faintest allusion to himself. There is no difficulty in admitting the similarity of fabric between his coins and those of his father a few years earlier in date. In my opinion the "King and Queen" coins were struck by Chandra-gupta I, as they profess to have been.

I am not satisfied that the name Pura really occurs on Dr. Hoey's coin (Pl. xxi. 23). I have examined the piece.

I am inclined to accept the real existence of a Chandra-gupta III and a Ghatotkacha-Gupta, about 500 A.D. (p. liv).

Mr. Allan convincingly justifies the reading Chandrāditya on certain late coins. The title, pronounced by Hoernle to be "an impossible Sanskrit compound," actually occurs in three inscriptions and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (p. lxi).

The discovery that most of the longer legends on the Gupta coins are in sundry Sanskrit metres, the most common being the Upagiti variety of the Āryā, is important and fully established (p. cviii).

The discussion of the metrology of the coins (p. cxxxi) is hardly adequate.

The book contains many other points of interest to an expert in Indian numismatics, but I must not take up more space.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Aspects of Death in Art and Epigram, illustrated especially by Medals, Engraved Gems, Jewels, Ivories, Antique Pottery, &c. By F. Parkes Weber, M.A., M.D. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. 461 pp. With 126 illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin and B. Quaritch. 1914.

READERS of the *Numismatic Chronicle* will not have forgotten the series of articles on the subject of Death which were contributed to its pages by Dr. Parkes Weber in 1909-10, and which subsequently took form as an independent volume. The second edition of this volume is now before us. It is swollen to more than twice its original bulk, and is indeed a solid and weighty book, although the author in his modesty describes it as a little volume.

The amount of information of a miscellaneous kind which is stowed away in its pages is extraordinary. Death being the complement of life, it is clear that the "farrago" of any book which deals with death must practically be "quidquid agunt homines." Consequently nothing less than an encyclopaedia would be necessary if the matters dealt with were to be arranged and classified on any strictly scientific plan. About half the book is concerned with the philosophical and psychological sides of the subject, the consideration of the various ideas of death and of man's attitude towards it. There is for instance a section (pp. 69-83) on the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, the influence of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and the "Triumph of Death" designs. (In this connexion the remarkable fresco of the Triumph of Death at Palermo might have been mentioned.) The whole of this half of the book is crammed with quotations from and references to the literature of death, showing a faculty of laborious collection which reminds one of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Part III (pp. 220-329) is the strictly numismatic portion of the work. It consists of a list, arranged chronologically, of coins, medals and tokens, having more or less direct reference to the subject. One might perhaps cavil at the inclusion of some examples, such as the Greek coins of Eleusis with types that refer to

the Eleusinian Mysteries, so remote is the reference. But no one, with such a subject, could possibly make a selection which would please all his critics. It is more to the point to recognize that one does not notice the omission of anything of importance. I note, merely for completeness' sake (and with full consciousness that, among the mass of material in the book the instances to be mentioned may be really given but have escaped my notice): first, a medal by Hagenauer of 1543, of which the reverse is illustrated by Habich (*Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, xxviii, p. 259); it consists merely of the motto BEDENCK DAS END. Next, among non-numismatic works, are the three very interesting pictures, two at Strassburg and one at Valenciennes, given in Reinach's *Répertoire*, III, pp. 748, 749, all of the school of Memlinc; the bronze Lucretia with her foot on a skull at Vienna; and W. F. Moll's little ivory putto asleep with his head on a skull, also at Vienna. The crest of Graeme is described as "two arms issuing from a cloud erected and lighting up a man's skull encircled with two branches of palm, over the head a marquess's coronet, all proper." What is the meaning of that? But there is no point in multiplying instances, which, as I have said, are really of small importance. Dr. Weber has cast his net wide and has missed little.

In his preface he suggests certain other subjects for investigation. I would call his attention to a crying want. There is no book making even the slightest pretence to exhaustiveness on the *imprese* or devices of the Renaissance, with their accompanying mottoes. It would be of immense use to students of medals, and also of other arts, to have a critical list of those known to have been actually used by persons, as distinct from those which were invented for general purposes by writers like Alciati or Ripa.

G. F. H.

W. H. Valentine, *The Copper Coins of India, Part I., Bengal and the United Provinces*. Spink & Son, Ltd., London, 1914. (5s.)

SINCE the publication of his *Modern Muhammadan Coins* three years ago, Mr. Valentine has been studying the copper coins of India. His first volume on this series has now been published, and in accordance with the geographical plan of the work deals with the copper coins of Bengal and the United Provinces. Bengal is here used in its old sense and is equivalent to the modern provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and Assam. The plan of the work is similar to the

author's previous volume (see *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 202), and again he has spared no pains to collect specimens from all sources. Over three hundred coins are illustrated and described with transliteration and translation of the legends. The book is much more than a catalogue of coins, however; it contains an interesting sketch of the main outlines of Indian history, which will give the reader a clear idea of the relative positions of the numerous dynasties that have ruled in India. The separate sections of the work each have more detailed historical introductions. The dynastic tables, the various alphabets, the glossary, and the comparative table of eras contain all that the layman requires to become proficient in identifying intelligently the coins described in the text. Collectors of Indian coins, who now form quite a numerous body, will find in Mr. Valentine's book the solution of many of their puzzles, and will look forward to the succeeding parts with interest.

J. A.



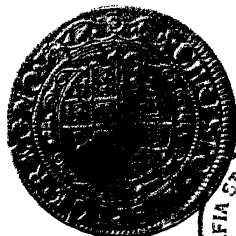
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CHARLES I; OXFORD AND EXETER HALF-CROWNS.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1913—1914.

OCTOBER 16, 1913.

H. B. EARLE FOX, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of May 18 were read and confirmed.

Messrs. H. W. Codrington and W. Gilbert were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :—

1. Aarbøgen for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1912.
2. Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin 1913, Nos. 1-6. 1912, No. 10.
3. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xvii., No. 2.
4. Annual of the British School at Athens. No. 18.
5. Appunti di Numismatica Romana, cv-cvi. By F. Gneccchi. *From the Author.*
6. Archaeologia Aeliana. N.S., Vol. ix.
7. Administration Report of Madras Government Museum, 1912-1913.
8. Brandenburgisch - preussische Münzstudien. By E. Bahrfeldt. *From the Author.*

9. Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. x., Nos. 2 and 3.

10. Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus. By L. O. T. Tudeer. *From the Author.*

11. Demi-Patagon frappé à Bruges par Philippe V. Roi d'Espagne. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. *From the Author.*

12. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxxiii., Pt. 1.

13. Förvännen Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Stockholm, 1912.

14. Horniman Museum Report, 1912.

15. Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique. 1913.

16. Les Doubles Souverains d'or frappés à Tournai par Philippe I. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. *From the Author.*

17. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 358-362.

18. Monnaies, Mesures et Poids de l'Inde et de la Chine. By J. A. Decourdemanche. *From the Author.*

19. Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique, 1913. Pts. 1 and 2.

20. Royal Irish Academy Proceedings. Vol. xxxii., Sec. C., Nos. 1-4.

21. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xliii., Pt. 2.

22. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1913. Livraisons 3 and 4.

23. Revue Numismatique, 1913. Pt. 1 and 2.

24. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1913. Pt. 2.

25. The Date of Kanishka. By F. W. Thomas. *From the Royal Asiatic Society.*

26. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxx., Heft 1-4.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a bronze medallion of Commodus with *rev.* Britannia seated BRITANNIA P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P. P., having a countermark on the edge (Cohen, No. 37; Gnechi, Pl. 78, 2).

Mr. P. H. Webb exhibited a series of third brass of Marius and Quintillus from a find made in 1912 near Treves, and denarii from a find near Luxemburg in 1912.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox showed a series of copper coins of Corinth including :

Nero.—Coins commemorative of the Emperor's visit to Corinth in 67 A.D. Two types (1) ADVENTVS; (2) AD-LOCVTIO; signed by the duumviri P. Memius Cleander and L. Rutilius Piso, each of whom struck both types.

(The name of the emperor is always in the nominative case, and that of the duumvir in the ablative.)

Autonomous types all issued by the duumvir L. Caninius Agrippa, who seems to have had no colleague.

(Contrary to the usage of all previous issues the duumvir's name is in the genitive (or dative) case.)

Obv. Head of Poseidon, NEPTVNO A/G.

Rev. (1) Clasped hands holding poppyhead and ears of corn.
(2) Isthmos, naked, holding two rudders (a local type).

Obv. (1) Head of the Senate, wearing stephane and veil, SENATV
P. Q. R.

(2) Head of Roma, turreted, ROMAE ET IMPERIO.

Combined with

Rev. (1) Clasped hands holding poppyhead and ears of corn.
(2) Victory holding wreath and palm branch.
(3) Temple approached by steps.

(The combination, head of Rome, *rev.* temple, was not represented in this exhibit.)

Galba.—SVL GALBAE CAESAR AVG (or sometimes CAE A/G IMP) (genitive or dative). *Rev.* the three types of the previous group. These like the autonomous types were issued by L. Caninius Agrippa.

Sir Arthur J. Evans exhibited two solidi, eight denarii of

Galba, and five autonomous denarii of the period including one of the XVth Legion on which he read the following note :—

Obv. ADSERTOR LIBERTATIS. Head of Mars Adsertor in crested helmet to r.

Rev. LEGION XV PRI M[IGEN] Victory draped to waist, with hammer in right hand, nailing up trophy. The trophy consists of helmet, greaves, and Attic and Iberian shields, the former hexagonal, the latter round. [See Pl. X. 9.]

The fabric of this coin is fine, but the style and the subject of the trophy suggest provincial fabric.

There seem to be faint traces of parts of the I and G of PRIMIGEN (*iae*). The XVth Legion was at one time quartered on the Rhine. This Legion or some detachment of it was in Rome with Galba, since it is connected with his own fate in a peculiar way. Tacitus¹ mentions that, during the mutiny of the troops and general tumult which preceded Otho's elevation, Galba in his hurried attempt at flight was thrown from his saddle, and according to the general report his throat was pierced by the sword of Camusius, a soldier of the XVth Legion.

Mr. H. Mattingly read a paper on "The Coinages of the Civil Wars, 68–69 A.D." After briefly recapitulating the history of the period, the reader attempted to assign a place and date to the various series of coins falling within the scope of the paper, and to elucidate the circumstances in which they were struck. The so-called "autonomous" coins which bear republican or military types, without the name or head of any emperor, were first passed in review; it was suggested that they should be assigned to three districts—Spain, Gaul, and the Germanies—and that the first two groups should be dated early in 68, and the third late in the same year. Reasons were given for not assigning any of

¹ *Hist.*, i. 41.

these coins to the mint of Rome. A short account was then given of the coinage of L. Clodius Macer in Africa, and attention was called to the salient points of interest. The coinage of Galba came next in order. Mr. Mattingly suggested a division into some five or six groups, to be attributed to the mint of Rome and also to mints in Spain, Gaul, and possibly Africa. The points of contact between the coins of this Emperor and the "autonomous" class were noted, and an explanation of the connexion was suggested. The various issues of Vitellius were next discussed, and different groups of coins were assigned to Lower Germany, Gaul, and Rome, and in the case of Galba a theory was proposed which might explain the great similarity between the Imperial coins and certain groups of "autonomous." Finally a very brief survey was taken of the early issues of Vespasian; a number of coins showing marked differences of style and fabric were illustrated, and possible mints were suggested for some of them. (This paper is printed in this volume, pp. 110-137.)

In the discussion that followed, Sir Arthur Evans commented on some very interesting coins of the period which he had exhibited earlier in the evening. He suggested the importance of the evidence of finds to check or confirm the proposed classification. Mr. Earle Fox called attention to the series of Corinthian coins bearing the name of a duumvir, and certainly to be attributed to the year 68, bearing, instead of an emperor's name, the inscription ROMAE ET IMPERIO and SENATV P Q R, and pointed out that they supplied some evidence of a sort of "interregnum," if one may so term it, between the death of Nero and the general recognition of Galba as emperor.

NOVEMBER 20, 1913.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of October 16 were read and approved.

Messrs. H. W. Codrington, M.R.A.S. (Ceylon Civil Service), and W. Gilbert were elected Fellows of the Society ; Rev. W. L. Gantz was admitted to the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :—

1. Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin. Nos. 7-8.
2. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xvii., No. 3.
3. Appunti di Numismatica Romana, cvii-cviii. By F. Gnecchi. *From the Author.*
4. Archiv für Medaillen- und Plaketten-Kunde. Heft. 1.
5. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique. vi., 1913.
6. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 122.
7. Forty-Third Annual Report of the Deputy-Master of the Mint, 1912.
8. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xliii., Pt. 3.
9. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. vi.
10. Report of the United States National Museum, 1912.
11. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome xix., 2, 1.
12. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 3, 1913.
13. The Date of Kanishka—A Discussion. *From the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Mr. Henry Garside showed specimens of the new eighteen and nine piastre pieces of Cyprus of George V.

Miss Helen Farquhar exhibited a silver medallion of Charles I attributed to Varin, clearly dated 1649, which shows that the date 1642 read on the only other specimen (in bronze) hitherto known is wrong.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed two very rare denarii of Septimius Severus and Caracalla each with reverse LAETITIA TEMPORVM, a circus-vessel in full sail from which various wild beasts are leaping; these remarkable pieces were issued on the celebration of the *decennalia* and the marriage of Caracalla in 202 A.D., and commemorate an entertainment in the amphitheatre, described by Dion Cassius, in which seven hundred wild beasts were let loose in the arena from a model ship and afterwards slain.

Mr. P. H. Webb exhibited a third brass of Augustus, *obv.* AVGVSTVS DIVI F. head l.; *rev.* L. CASSIO/ C. VALERIO /IVIR in three lines in laurel wreath; this piece corrects Cohen's reading C. NERIO—the monogram VA was mistaken by him for N; the Valerii belonged to the Julian party, while C. Nerius was an adherent of Pompey.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on a "New Medal by Claude Varin." This medal, which has been recently acquired by the British Museum, is a hitherto unknown portrait medal of John Prideaux (1578–1650), Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford 1615–1641, Bishop of Worcester 1641–1650, and Vice-Chancellor of the University for various terms; it is dated 1638, and bears the signature C. Varin. Mr. Hill pointed out that the workmanship of this medal bore a remarkable resemblance to the well-known medal of Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library, and confirmed the supposition that the latter was by Claude Varin. Mr. Hill proceeded to discuss the attribution of the various English medals of this period signed "Warin" only, and showed that they fell into well-marked groups to be assigned to different members of the Varin family. (This paper was printed in Vol. XIII. pp. 422–426.)

Mr. G. C. Brooke read some notes on "Muled Types in the English Coinage of the Norman Period," and showed a slide illustrating two mules of William I of which the obverse dies had been worked up to resemble the two obverses that were

in issue with the reverses of these mules. The evidence of these two mules, and the rarity of the mules of the London mint (where coinage was continuous), suggested the conclusion that mules of this period were irregular coins issued by the moneyers with the object of saving themselves expense by using an old die, and not, as had been thought, an authorized issue, the frequency of their occurrence being due to the difficulty of their detection. The obverse of mules belonged usually to the earlier of the two types muled because the obverse, or standard, die had less hard wear, and usually out-lived one or even more reverse dies. A discussion followed, in which Messrs. H. B. Earle Fox, who gave his experiences of muling in the Plantagenet period, P. H. Webb, H. Symonds, and the President took part.

DECEMBER 18, 1913.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of November 20, were read and approved.

Messrs. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Richard Dalton, Robert Kerr, and R. J. Williams were proposed for election, and Mr. William Gilbert was admitted to the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :—

1. Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. x., No. 4.

2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 363–364.

3. Notices Extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique. 3rd trimestre, 1913. By A. Blanchet. *From the Author.*

4. Oriental Numismatics. By J. Robinson. *From the Author.*

5. Revue Numismatique. 3rd trimestre, 1913.

6. Sur les Chrétiens et les Seconds Flaviens dans l'Histoire Auguste. By Jules Maurice. *From the Author.*

7. The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind. By Sir Charles Warren. *From the Author.*

Mr. J. G. Milne exhibited a tetradrachm of Smyrna, *obv.* head of Cybele r., and *rev.* lion recumbent r., of the magistrate Herodotos.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger showed a small bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, *rev.* Hercules standing in front of an altar, behind him a column surmounted by a statue (Gnecchi, Pl. cxlix. 4).

Rev. Edgar Rogers exhibited three Jewish bronze coins of Eleazar, one of the usual type of the first year of the "deliverance of Jerusalem," and two new types of the "redemption of Israel."

Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A., showed a second brass of Vespasian, *rev.* PAX AVG; a first brass of Titus, *rev.* PIETAS, Domitilla between Titus and Vespasian; a first brass of Caracalla, *rev.* VICT. BRIT., Victory erecting a trophy; and a third brass of Allectus, *rev.* VIRTUS AVG., Trophy between two captives (Webb, No. 86), of the London mint, all found in Dorset.

Mr. J. Allan read a paper on the English imitation of an Arab dinar, usually known as the mancus of Offa, which has recently been acquired by the British Museum with the assistance of private individuals. This piece is a very good copy of a dinar of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur of the year 157 A.H. (774 A.D.) with the additional legend OFFA REX. Offa probably became acquainted with the Arab dinars through intercourse between England and France, as from the evidence of finds and contemporary literature, they are known to have circulated in the Carolingian empire; he

might even have received them from Charlemagne among the latter's presents to him, as gold coins were probably included among the presents sent by al-Mansur to Pepin, as they certainly were among Harun al-Rashid's many gifts to "his brother" Charlemagne. There was no real reason to suppose these dinars of Offa were specially struck or even used for the payment of Peter's pence. They were evidence of an attempt, probably quite ephemeral, to institute a gold coinage which would pass current with the standard gold coin of the time. The idea that the *munus divinum* solidi of Louis the Pious were specially struck for tribute to Rome was, as M. Prou has shown, due to a misinterpretation of the legend which was really a kind of equivalent to *Dei Gratia*; so that the argument from the analogy of these pieces falls to the ground. Although the value of Offa's dinar must have been about that of a mancus of silver, it must be called a dinar and not a mancus, which was solely a money of account. The etymology of *mancus*, from the Arabic *mankush*, the "engraved," sometimes applied to coins in poetical language, was untenable, and all theories founded on it must be abandoned. (This paper is printed in this volume, pp. 77-89.)

Sir Arthur Evans and Dr. Codrington suggested that Arab dinars might also have reached England by the northern route through Russia and the Baltic, but the President pointed out that the greater majority of the coins found on the northern route were Samanid silver of a later date than the coin in question.

JANUARY 15, 1914.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of December 18, 1913, were read and approved.

Messrs. Richard Dalton, Robert Kerr, and R. James Williams were elected Fellows of the Society; and Mrs. Sidney Streatfield and K. u. K. Regierungsrat Eduard Fiala were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xvii., No. 4.
2. Contos para Contar (Jetons Portugueses). By J. Leite de Vasconcellos. *From the Author.*
3. Elencho das lições de Numismatica. By J. Leite de Vasconcellos. *From the Author.*
4. Inventaire das Moedas Portuguesa da Bibliotheca National da Lisboa. By J. Leite de Vasconcellos. *From the Author.*
5. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. lxiii., Pt. 2 and Supplement.
6. Le Monete e le Bolle plumbee Pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano. Vol. iii. By C. Serafini. *From the Administration of the Vatican Library.*
7. Monnaies de Juste-Maximilian de Bronckhorst. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. *From the Author.*
8. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Band vi., Heft 2 and 3.
9. Numismatic Circular. Vol. xxi., 1913. *From Messrs. Spink & Sons.*
10. Medhala Commemorativa de Congresso de Numismatica, 1900. By M. J. de Campos. *From J. Leite de Vasconcellos.*
11. O Numismata; Manoel Joaquin de Campos. *From J. Leite de Vasconcellos.*

12. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. Pt. 1, 1914.

13. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Band xxxi., Heft 1 and 2.

Miss Helen Farquhar showed a series of coins from £1 pieces to half-crowns with equestrian figures illustrative of the style and workmanship of the Civil War engravers, including signed pieces by Rawlins and Briot.

Mr. William Gilbert brought an unpublished milled six-pence of Elizabeth of 1562 with a dot between A and D of the reverse legend.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited a small iron tobacco box with a portrait of Charles I in silver on the lid.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a medallion of Hadrian, being a large brass (Cohen, No. 184) enclosed in a broad moulded bronze circle, found in the Tiber in 1913.

Mr. Percy H. Webb exhibited a rare second brass of L. Domitius Alexander, tyrant in Africa 308-311 A.D., with reverse, INVICTA ROMA FELIX KARTHAGO (Cohen, No. 6).

Miss Helen Farquhar read a paper on "Nicholas Briot and some Country Mints during the Civil War." Mr. Symonds had recently shown that Briot had died in the service of Parliament, which had disproved the tradition of the artist's uninterrupted service of Charles I at Oxford. Miss Farquhar was able to show that Briot continued to serve the King by making secret journeys from London to York and Oxford after the outbreak of hostilities, as was clear from his widow's petition to Charles II at the Restoration, recalling the miseries she and her family had suffered when this was discovered. Miss Farquhar showed how Briot's hand could be traced in the Civil War coinages of these two mints. From an unpublished Harleian manuscript Miss Farquhar traced the route of Thomas Bushell, who carried his Aberystwith mint *viâ* Shrewsbury and Oxford to Bristol, and she suggested that the clumsy equestrian portraits in use on silver issues at Shrewsbury and Oxford owed their origin to some graver unknown, in the employ of Bushell, removing

with his master to Bristol in 1643. She believed that the improvement of the Oxford coinage in that year was partly due to Rawlins, who since 1642 had been engaged in making war badges for Charles, and partly to Briot, whose special horse as depicted on his patterns and private coinage at the Tower, makes its first appearance at Oxford in 1643. By the help of lantern slides she traced this equestrian figure from 1630 to 1646.

With regard to York, where Briot's co-operation is technically manifest, the reader drew attention to the similarity between his initialled half-crown and the Tower type beginning in 1640; for which, as the King's designer of obverse, he may be held responsible; and she referred to some little-known contemporary evidence concerning the establishment and locality of the Civil War mint in the northern city. (This paper is printed in this volume.) A discussion followed, in which Mr. Symonds, Mr. Brooke, Colonel Morrieson, and the President took part.

FEBRUARY 19, 1914.

PERCY H. WEBB, ESQ., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of January 15 were read and approved.

Mrs. Sidney Streatfield, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, and K. u. K. Regierungsrat Eduard Fiala were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 1913.

2. Archaeologia Aeliana. Vol. x.

3. Chats on Old Coins. By F. W. Burgess. *From the Publishers.*

4. International Stamp and Coin Collectors Address Book, 1914. By E. W. Hensinger.

5. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1912-1913.

6. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxxii., S.C., Nos. 5 to 9.

7. Revue Numismatique. 4th trimestre, 1913.

8. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Pt. iv., 1913.

9. Smithsonian Institution Report, 1912.

Mr. J. G. Milne exhibited specimen types from a hoard of bronze coins of Temnis, in Aeolis, of the third century B.C.

Mr. P. H. Webb showed a memorial follis of Galerius Maximianus struck by Maximinus Daza at Alexandria and another struck by Diocletian at Antioch, and a curious cast medal of Galba.

Mr. G. F. Hill exhibited a coining press of the reign of Philip IV of Spain, probably the earliest press that has been discovered. (See this volume, pp. 90-92.)

Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A., gave an account of a find of Roman coins made over half a century ago at Puncknoll, in Dorsetshire, and recently presented to the Dorchester Museum. The coins, which were contained in an earthen jar, covered the period 253-293 A.D., and were of the Emperors Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus I, Claudius II, and Carausius, and the Empress Salonina. (This paper is printed in this volume, pp. 92-95.)

Dr. Oliver Codrington, F.S.A., read a paper by Mr. H. W. Codrington on "Coins of the Kings of Hormuz." After sketching the history of Hormuz under Muslim and Portuguese rule, the reader described a number of the gold coins of the kings of Hormuz of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which have been hitherto unknown. Dr. Codrington was also successful in reading the names of the same kings on a

number of silver larins which had been struck from the same dies as the gold coins. (This paper is printed in this volume, pp. 156-167.)

MARCH 19, 1914.

HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of February 19 were read and approved.

Sir Thomas H. Elliot, K.C.B., Captain J. S. Cameron, and Mr. Sidney W. Grose were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Trimestre 3 and 4, 1913.

2. Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore. By R. B. Whitehead. 2 vols. *From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.*

3. Chronique de Numismatique Celtique.

4. Discours de M. A. Blanchet.

5. Notices Extraits de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique.

} By A. Blanchet.
} *From the Author.*

6. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1913.

7. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. xi.

8. The Canadian Antiquarian. Vol. xi., No. 1.

9. Was there a Kusana Race? By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein.

Mr. W. Gilbert exhibited an unpublished halfpenny token of "George Smith Cheesmonger over against ye Shippens in Smithfield."

Mr. L. A. Lawrence and Mr. H. B. Earle Fox exhibited two series of forgeries in illustration of the paper.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox read a paper on contemporary forgeries in the English coinage. Contemporary forgeries went as far back as the art of coinage itself; in ancient times it was a common practice for the authorities to issue a certain proportion of plated coins and enforce their currency to pay mint expenses. It was impossible to forge the thin silver coins of the middle ages by plating them, so that the usual practice was to make them in debased metal. The reader devoted special attention to the coins of the Edwards and their forgeries and continental imitations; the latter were of importance for dating hoards. Mr. H. B. Earle Fox concluded his paper with some remarks on modern forgeries and the points usually overlooked by the forger.

APRIL 16, 1914.

H. B. EARLE FOX, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of March 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletins No. 12, 1913; No. 1, 1914.

2. Les Monnaies de Bronze dites incertaines du Pont ou du Royaume de Mithridate Eupator. By Miss Agnes Baldwin. *From the Author.*

3. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 365.

4. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Heft 1, 1914.

5. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 1, 1914.

6. Revue Belge de Numismatique. Part 2, 1914.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, and Mr.

Walters exhibited extensive series of coins in illustration of the paper to be read.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., read his paper on the third and last period of the Coinage of the reign of Edward IV, from 1471 to 1483. He showed how there was a special reason for assigning with certainty the annulet mint-mark to the first issue after the return of Edward from exile, as it represented the ring of St. Edward and was the emblem of the Abbey of Westminster where the Queen and his children had received sanctuary in his absence. The regular sequence of mint-marks at the Tower was then traced up to the end of the reign. It was shown from the mint accounts at the Record Office that the Royal Mints at Bristol and York continued to work after the restoration of Edward IV, although only for a comparatively short time. York only worked for six months or to September, 1471, and Bristol only fourteen months or to July, 1472. The amount of bullion coined at both mints was comparatively small. The sequence of coins from the Prelatical mints of Canterbury, Durham, and York was followed through the vicissitudes and changes of the occupancy of the Sees. (This paper is printed in this volume.)

MAY 21, 1914.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the ordinary meeting of April 16 were read and approved.

The Rev. Edward H. Sydenham was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. Académie royale de Belgique. *Annuaire*, 1914.

2. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xviii., Pt. 1.
 3. Appunti di Numismatica Romana cix. By F. Gnechi.
From the Author.
 4. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 121, and Beilage.
 5. Catalogue of Coins in the Colombo Museum. Part 1.
By H. W. Codrington. *From the Author.*
 6. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum:
Palestine. By G. F. Hill. *From the Trustees of the British
Museum.*
 7. Imitations Seigneuriales Limbourgeoises du XV. Siècle.
By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. *From the Author.*
 8. Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Vol. xliv., Pt. 1.
 9. Horniman Museum. Report for 1913. *From the
London County Council.*
 10. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
Nos. 366 to 369.
 11. Note on the Name Kushan. By J. Allan. *From the
Royal Asiatic Society.*
 12. Revue Numismatique. Part 1, 1914.
 13. The Name Kushan. By J. F. Fleet. *From the Royal
Asiatic Society.*
 14. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxxi., Heft 3-4.
- Messrs. G. C. Brooke and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed to audit the Society's accounts for 1913-1914.
- Sir Arthur J. Evans exhibited the following coins: a new example of the alteration of a die of a Tarentine coin by the introduction of a symbol. The coin is a didrachm showing the horseman with a flowing chlamys and a small pegasos below. A coin exists (Vlasto Coll.) from the same dies both in its obverse and reverse, but without the symbol. This is probably the badge of a new magistrate. The obverse and reverse types show affinities in the *Horsemen*, &c., Per. iv., Type E.; a didrachm of Metapontum (head in sphendone, single drop earring) with inscription ΟΔΥΑ clearly visible

behind the head; a tetradrachm of Katané with signature of Prokles beneath the head of Apollo—one other example is known, in the Luynes Collection; and a tetradrachm of Syracuse with the “large head” and χ , probably the signature of Kimon behind. (Cf. Tudeer, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus*, 42, Pl. iv.) The chariot type here found in association with this was not known to Tudeer.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox showed an unpublished copper coin of the Achaean league of Psophis. *Obv.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. *Rev.* ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΨΩΦΙΔΙΩΝ.

Mr. P. H. Webb exhibited three bronze coins of Constantine I, viz. :—

1. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Bust of Emperor r., undraped, and with bare head.

Rev.—SAPIENT PRINCIPIS. Altar surmounted by a bird, to left of base shield, to right helmet. Across altar, transversely, spear pointing r. upwards.

In exergue R . . . (Rome). Size 13 mm., wt. 0.93 gramme (or allowing for a fracture of the edge, 1 gramme). (Variety of Cohen 486.)

This coin appears to be of a denomination less than the nummus of MM. Maurice and Dattari (see *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 431), the theoretic weight whereof is 1.44 grammes.

2. *Obv.*—As above.

Rev.—FVNDAT PACIS. Mars helmeted, semi-nude, walking r., holding r. trophy over shoulder; his l. hand dragging small captive after him.

In exergue RS. (Rome). Size 15 mm., wt. 1.36 gramme. (Cohen 157.)

3. *Obv.*—As above.

Rev.—GLORIA PERPET. Two victories walking r., between them a military standard.

In exergue RT. (Rome). Size 15 mm., weight 1.77 gramme. (Cohen 259.)

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on “Greek Coins recently acquired by the British Museum.” Among the most notable

pieces were three coins of Melos from the recent find, with reverses four-spoked wheel, triskeles, and crescent; an electrum coin of Ionia, with *obv.* Pegasus, *rev.* two incuse squares; a copper coin of Praxippos, king of Lapethus (Cyprus); a tetradrachm of Timarchus, the usurper who ruled in Babylon in 162 B.C., of which only two other specimens are known; and a tridrachm of the Barcid coinage of Carthago Nova. (This paper is printed in this volume, pp. 97-109.)

June 18, 1914.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 19, 1913, were read and approved.

Messrs. W. Gedney Beattie and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed scrutineers of the ballot for the ensuing year.

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting:—

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the death of one Honorary Fellow:—

Dr. Hans Hildebrand,

and of the following four Fellows:—

Thomas Bliss, Esq.

Barclay Vincent Head, Esq., D.C.L., D.Litt., Ph.D.

W. Talbot Ready, Esq.

W. H. Taylor, Esq.

They have also to announce the resignation of the following six Fellows :—

Cumberland Clark, Esq.	J. Gordon Langton, Esq.,
Edward Francklin, Esq.	F.C.A., F.I.S.
Edward J. Jekyll, Esq., J.P.,	A. M. Mitchison, Esq.
D.L.	R. N. Roskell, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing the Election of the following twelve Fellows :—

H. W. Codrington, Esq.,	William Gilbert, Esq.
M.R.A.S.	Sidney William Grose, Esq.,
V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Esq.	B.A.
Capt. J. S. Cameron.	Robert Kerr, Esq., M.A.
Richard Dalton, Esq.	Rev. E. H. Sydenham.
Sir Thomas Elliot, K.C.B.	Mrs. Sidney Streatfield.
K.u.K. Regierungsrat Eduard	R. James Williams, Esq.
Fiala.	

The number of Fellows is, therefore :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1913	283	19	302
Since elected	12	—	12
	295	19	314
Deceased	4	1	5
Resigned	6	—	6
	285	18	303

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the Society's Medal to M. J. N. Svoronos, Keeper of the National Museum in Athens, in recognition of his distinguished services to Greek numismatics.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then laid before the meeting :—

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE, 1913,

Dr.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>To Cost of Chronicle—</i>						
Printing	218	7	7			
Plates and Illustrations	70	4	0			
				288	11	7
<i>To Books, &c.</i>				4	5	10
<i>To Lantern Expenses</i>				7	9	7
<i>To Rent and Refreshments</i>				41	11	2
<i>To Sundry Payments</i>				10	7	9
<i>Balance in hand—</i>						
General Fund	245	7	5			
Research Fund	16	1	6			
				261	8	11
				£613	14	10

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, TO JUNE, 1914.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance in hand—</i>						
General Fund	238	18	3			
Research Fund	14	3	10			
				253	2	1
<i>By Subscriptions, &c.—</i>						
2 Life Subscriptions	31	10	0			
212 Ordinary Subscriptions at £1 ls. (less loss on foreign cheques, &c.)	222	1	0			
8 Entrance Fees	8	8	0			
				261	19	0
<i>By Sales of Chronicles, &c.</i>				63	4	3
<i>By Dividends on Investments—</i>						
General Fund	33	11	10			
Research Fund	1	17	8			
				35	9	6
				<u>£613</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>

PERCY H. WEBB, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, } *Hon. Auditors.*
GEORGE C. BROOKE, }

June 27, 1914.

The Reports of the Council and of the Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

The President referred to the great loss sustained by the Society by the death of Barclay Vincent Head, and moved that an expression of the Society's sympathy in her bereavement be conveyed to Miss Head.

The President then handed the Society's medal to Mr. Allan to be forwarded to M. Svoronos, who was unable to be present, and addressed the meeting as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My first duty to-day is to present our medal to the scholar who has been selected by your Council for that distinction. It is our habit in giving the medal to alternate between English and foreign numismatists. This year it is the turn of the latter, and we have selected M. Svoronos, the Keeper of the great collection of Greek coins at Athens, for the distinction. The fact that at so young an age he has been thought worthy of such an honour enhances the compliment we are paying him. Another reason which makes his position notable is the fact that he is the first Greek who has reached the position of authority in the science of Numismatics which entitles him to rank among the first exponents of the study. This is a great fact when we remember what a dominating position Greek coins hold in the eyes of us all. He began his career as a subordinate in the Athens Museum, where he worked under a patient and accurate master, Postolakka. On the latter's death he succeeded him as Keeper, a position he has filled with quite remarkable vigour and activity. He began by uniting the old collection belonging to the University with the smaller one belonging to the State, and persuaded the Greek Government to pass a stringent law by which all coins found in Greece were to be sent to the Museum. The result of this has been a gigantic growth in the collection,

making it, so far as Greek Numismatics are concerned, one of the finest in the world, as it ought to be. One result we naturally feel to be an embarrassment. It is often said that it is no use collecting Greek coins in these days because so few of them come into market. It has been argued that this is due to few being found. It is rather due to the leakage from Greece having been largely stopped. This, again, tempts me to moralize a little; I often think that the great museums might help each other more than they do by the exchange of duplicates. The passion of some collectors to possess every coin of the same type that exists and thus to prevent others from securing a specimen is a miser's instinct, and not a scholar's. Once a collection has secured an adequate representation of a type surely it is better to exchange with other collections, and thus to do homage to the cosmopolitan character of science as represented by coins. To return to M. Svoronos, we all of us congratulate him on the mighty collection he presides over, which contains so many rare prizes, and we congratulate the Greek nation on having such a fine scholar and fine courteous gentleman in charge of its numismatic treasures. His first work was a notable monograph on the Coins of Crete which received the distinction of being academically crowned. He has since written a great work in four volumes on the Coins of the Ptolemies which puts all other works on that series in the shade. He has translated the *Corpus Numorum* of our own Father Anches Head into Greek, and is now editing a volume on the Coins of Athens for the great Corpus of Greek coins published by the Berlin Academy. In 1898 he founded and has since edited the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, in which numerous papers from his pen have appeared. This is a great deal to have done in so short a space. May he continue to have the same vigour and the same imaginative genius (which sometimes runs away with all of us but

without which our studies are so often mere dust), and may be found at Athens a school of Greek disciples to help him to unravel the thousand puzzles and mysteries which are still hidden in the lovely and illuminating Coinage of Greece.

You will convey our kind thoughts to him, Mr. Allan, and you will tell him that we English people put at the head of a long list of our teachers the Greek scholars and school-masters, Theodore of Canterbury and Hadrian, Abbot of St. Augustine's, and we at present close the list in one great field of culture with the name of Svoronos.

Mr. Allan then read the following letter of thanks from M. Svoronos :—

“DEAR MR. ALLAN,

“The great honour and token of appreciation conferred on me by the illustrious Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain fills me with deepest gratitude no less than with joy and pride.

“By universal consent the Royal Numismatic Society and the distinguished Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, which is closely linked to it by the bonds of a common science, constitute the greatest, most distinguished, and most erudite centre of numismatic research. In consequence, it is the highest honour to which a numismatist can hope to attain in his lifetime, to be named out for distinction by those who form the head and centre of his science. The greatest proof of this are the thanks which your Society has received from the notable array of universally reputed scholars who have been thus honoured by you. The more I am conscious of my own insignificance as compared with the greatness of all those whom you have honoured from 1883 down to the present day, the greater is my gratitude and pride, most especially as I belong to Greece, the country which in olden times taught other nations the

highest civilization, and has left as an heritage the glorious monuments to which our studies are above all directed. Greece, once the teacher, is now the pupil, full of ambition speedily to become the equal of her teachers and worthy of her ancient glory.

“Hereafter, when I look on the medal which you have conferred on me, I will remember the words of your distinguished countryman and our colleague, Arthur Evans, spoken about the medal of your Society, ‘a medal seems to be the fitting badge of one who has fought a good fight.’

“I would end with this last conceit, and I would request you, Sir, to act as my mouthpiece, and ask that through the medium of your eloquence, the warmest expressions of my deepest gratitude may be conveyed to your distinguished Society.

“Believe me, Sir,

“Sincerely yours,

(Sig.) “JEAN N. SVORONOS.”

The President then delivered the following address:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

According to recent precedent I shall take as read the obituary notices of those of our Fellows who have left us recently. Exceptions must be made, however, in the case of three of them with whom our ties have been the closest. First among them was my very old friend of many years, Barclay Head, a singularly charming personality, gentle, urbane, considerate, and kind to everybody, and full of knowledge which was always at the service of his friends. He was an ideal numismatist with a remarkable memory and a keen inductive instinct, and he has greatly enriched the literature of our science. His monumental work, the *Historia Numorum*, has passed through two editions. It is a marvellous monument of accurate description, lucid arrangement and wide research, and has gained the honour of translation into Greek.

Besides this he wrote many notable papers in our *Chronicle*, showing a breadth of sympathy and an amplitude of range and horizon seldom reached, while eight of the most excellent volumes in the great *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum* are from his hand.

How much he was regarded by the distinguished cultivators of our science may best be gathered from the collection of Memoirs which were brought together in the *Corolla Numismatica* in honour of him. He was for many years one of the editors of our *Chronicle* and, until his health broke down, a very regular attendant at our meetings. But for this misfortune he would have also sat in this chair, which I did my best to press upon him when I was constrained by your pressure to undertake a duty for which he and others were so much better qualified. He has gone away, like many others who have suffered much here, to the land of peace and sunlight, and has left us a trail of light to guide our own feet, if we are disposed like him to cherish modesty and gentleness as the sovereign virtues of good men.

A very constant attendant at our meetings and our Council Board, and one who exhibited many rare coins at our table, and was also a charming personality, was Mr. Thomas Bliss. We shall greatly miss him. Lastly, another friend of us all, a remarkable man, Mr. Talbot Ready. Few possessed so accurate and discriminating an archaeological eye as he did, and his range was great. He was as acute in discriminating between false and true in the difficult field of Greek terracottas and Italian fayence as in that of sixteenth-century medals and the whole field of ancient coins, and was gifted with a great memory. He also was a gentle and sympathetic person, always willing to sacrifice his time and to put his knowledge to the service of others. The British Museum and its coin room will miss him greatly; with him disappears the last representative of the great firm of Rollin and Feuardent in London, and a notable figure among our friends.

Another successful year has been added to the now venerable age of this Society which for so long collected round its hospitable table all the serious students of Numismatics in this realm. Since our last Annual Gathering our meetings have been well attended, our discussions have been animated and profitable, the papers contributed to our *Journal* have more than reached the level of former years, our family affairs have been conducted, I hope, with marked friendliness and good humour, and our intercourse with our younger rival, which also shows proof of marked vitality, has been friendly and sympathetic. All this, I think, you will agree with me, is a pleasant retrospect for us all, and for no one more so than for the present occupant of this chair. You have continuously treated him with much cordiality and kindness and with much consideration for shortcomings. I hope he may have partially succeeded in any efforts he may have made to help you according to his opportunities and gifts to maintain peace at home and abroad, to encourage the shy and timid to make their voices heard, and perhaps also to widen the scope of our science by reminding you betimes that we are historians as well as collectors and cataloguers of coins, and that we have the duty (here at all events) of studying and analysing the coinage of the whole world and not merely of limiting ourselves to our domestic issues. If in this work I have in any way gained your approval I can only say that the reason for any success in the effort has been due really to the loyalty and, may I say, affectionate ties which have bound us all together, and which have not even led you to reprove and resent occasional digressions into the fields of playfulness which from primeval times have been found useful in watering the arid sands of science. Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come for me to quit this chair. It ought to have come before and would have done so if we had not had to steer through some shoals and rocks, which perhaps needed the quality of tact rather than any endowment of wisdom. I am

strongly of opinion that it is only exceptional circumstances which can justify so long a term as I have had in the Presidency. It is good for the Society and for Numismatics that its Presidential chair should pass on at shorter intervals from one of its Fellows to another so that fresh minds and fresh ideas should be put at its service, and it is fortunate indeed that we should have so many among us whose gifts and qualities so eminently fit them for the position and notably their possessing a commanding and wide knowledge of the science of Numismatics, which I cannot pretend to rival. My own rôle in life has been that of an historian who has used coins galore in his work and who in his heart loves coins as historical documents of the first class rather than as a systematic numismatist loves them. It is pleasant indeed for me to find myself succeeded by one whom I have known intimately and have greatly regarded since he was a boy. He has made himself famous in more fields of archaeology than one, and as a numismatist has written monographs of the first quality. Lastly, he has another special qualification for this post, namely, that he is a famous collector and has put his collections, and will, I know, put them often again, at the service of the Society. I wish him every success, and I know that you will be as kind to him as you have been to me. It is pleasant, ladies and gentlemen, to be able to sing my "Nunc Dimittis" with these thoughts and these words.

Let me now turn from personal matters to others more interesting. Last year I ventured to bring before you the question of the two Numismatic Societies uniting in one effort to bring out a new edition of Ruding's *Annals*, which should incorporate the great mass of documents which have turned up since the last edition and also include a complete corpus of English coins up to date. The project was approved by unanimous votes in both societies, whose members considered that their country which is so rich in numismatists and so rich in documents should not be behind France, Italy, and Spain,

in having a more or less complete and up-to-date monograph on its coins. The matter has been delayed by accident, but I hope that it will take a practical start in the course of next year, and that the opportunity of utilizing the phenomenal number of skilled English numismatists who are now available will not be lost.

It is a satisfaction to us all, I am sure, that the British Museum has after much delay initiated a series of volumes on the English coins later than the Conquest in the National Collection by a volume now in progress on the coinage of the Norman Kings. This is being edited with skilled and learned scholarship by Mr. Brooke, whose presence at our meetings is as welcome to those who love the sunshine as to those who wish English coins to be treated according to the very latest methods of analysis. We all hope he may live to see the whole English series through.

Mr. Hill, who now presides over the Coin Department of the British Museum with so much accurate and far-reaching knowledge and taste, has brought out a volume of the highest interest to historians as well as coin-men, namely, a catalogue of the very rich collection of Jewish Coins in the Museum, which is now by far the most important in the world. The series of coins there described is naturally attractive to a public outside that of regular numismatists. It is a difficult series to arrange and not attractive artistically, and the fine and illuminating memoir on it by Madden has naturally become largely obsolete. I need not say that the work is admirably done. This does not mean that every one will agree with the author in all matters; our Fellow, Mr. Rogers, who is quoted several times in it, I believe has other views on some details. It would make Numismatics a forlorn study if its puzzles and problems were to be finally exhausted by any inquirer, however skilled. What we want and what we value far beyond any final decision on difficulties and ambiguities in matters of detail is the presence in such works as this of

the scientific method and precision at their best in describing the style of the coins, the meaning of the types and also the wide knowledge of the literature of the subject, and this I think you will agree that you are pretty sure to find at least in the later volumes of the Museum Catalogues and notably in that edited by Mr. Hill.

In looking through the pages of this and other Catalogues of the Greek Series, one thing which has often struck me as not quite logical or illuminating is the arrangement of the two great series of classical coins. I am speaking now as a professed historian whose work has necessitated a continual use of coins as witnesses of the best kind and not as a systematic cataloguer of coins, and my purpose is the facilitating of the use of coins for historical study and not the convenience of finding coins in a series of cabinets.

I have always felt that the coinage of the later Roman Republic and the Empire has been arranged and catalogued rather in the interest of the coin-man than the historian—that is to say, rather in the interests of those who are engaged in analysing the various issues by particular mints than according to the strictly historical needs of the student. Let me be more precise and concrete. When I am writing a monograph on a Roman Emperor I want to know and to study all available materials for his history, including the coins he has issued. I want to know where and when he struck coins and what those coins have to say about him and the period when he reigned, and to illustrate that reign, by all the information which can be gathered from coins about the local magistracy, the religious rites, the special gods worshipped, the records of victories, the commemoration of the dignities held by himself and his family, &c. The separate history of each particular mint from its rise to its fall is an interesting study, but nothing like so important as the utilization of coins to illustrate a particular epoch. By the method of arranging the coins of the Empire, which prevails among numismatists,

that important series is sharply divided into two entirely different classes described in different volumes by different men. Those with Latin inscriptions and struck at European mints are put together under the Emperor in whose reign they were struck and arranged under his name geographically and also chronologically. You do not take all the coins issued at Siscia or London or Tarragona respectively and put them all together in a continuous series, under each of their mint groups, but you distribute them among the various Emperors who issued them. When we turn, however, to the coins struck by the same Emperors or during their reigns by the subject towns, which are inscribed not in Roman letters but in Greek or Aramaic or Jewish letters and coined in the Eastern dominions of the Empire, they are treated in an entirely different way. The coins are then treated not as local issues of one Imperial master, but as the successors of the autonomous series of the mint towns which were struck before the Romans became their masters, and are scattered through endless volumes and pages of the Catalogues of the Greek series, and can only be discovered by hunting for each coin individually, at a great loss of time and temper by those who have a vast mass of literature to read through in their work beside coins. Why a coin of Hadrian, for instance, struck at Rome, or Lyons, or Treves should be catalogued under the coins of Hadrian while the coins of the same Emperor struck at Ephesus, or Miletus, or Philippi, should not even be mentioned in treating of the coinage of his reign, passes my comprehension. The fact that the inscriptions on the coins of Hadrian are written in different alphabets and languages does not affect the first element in them, namely, that they are coins of Hadrian. The series of his coins enables us to understand better than any of his monuments, the extent of his empire, the vast and wide-reaching activities of that very ideal and gifted ruler, the changes made in his reign and the local officers he employed. I mention

Hadrian because probably the most interesting of his labours were what he did in the eastern parts of his dominion and especially in the Greek world which he so greatly cherished, but the same argument applies to many other Roman Emperors. It is quite true that in all sciences you have overlaps and that you have to treat the same facts from two or more points of view; that for different purposes you want to know the history of all the issues of a particular mint as well as all the issues of a particular Emperor. The ideal system would no doubt be to have a double catalogue. This ideal standard, however, like most ideal things, including men and women, is practically unattainable and the question remains, which is the most useful method of arrangement in cataloguing coins; to treat them as historical monuments or as the different kinds of local money, a point on which the numismatist and the historian would probably not agree. I should like to suggest a compromise. There is a plan which was followed by the older numismatists and which was also followed partially and imperfectly in later times in Babelon's Catalogues, which would, if more elaborately carried out, meet the difficulty I am mentioning. I tried to persuade my friend Grueber to adopt it in his learned work on the Coinage of Republican Rome, which is a vast magazine of information on a difficult and involved subject. The plan I would suggest, which might perhaps be adopted in the volumes dealing with the Imperial series, is to put at the end of the coinage of each emperor an alphabetical list of all the known so-called Greek Imperial coins struck in the reign with a reference in each case to the volume of the Greek series or the monograph or treatise where each coin has been described and is discussed in detail. May I commend the suggestion to my friends Mr. Hill and Mr. Mattingly, the latter of whom is preparing the first volume of the Roman Imperial Series. In default of this solution could not one of them give us a special volume containing a list of Imperial Greek coins

arranged under Emperors? I know nothing that could be more welcome to the serious students of Roman history and that is more needed. As I am on the subject of catalogues, may I venture to depart again from the conventional methods of my predecessors in this chair and to say something on another aspect of the question. When you have to face the stupendous task of cataloguing such a collection of coins, for instance, as that in the British Museum, it is difficult to know where to begin and what series to select for cataloguing. The usual solution in such cases has been to start at some arbitrary point and to drive along the level road that leads from the beginning of the series to the end. This is perhaps the best plan for the cataloguers, but it may not be the best plan for the historian and the man who has his eye on the whole known series, whether in any particular museum or not. To me it is better that a series which interests me and would help me in my work should be published in my lifetime rather than a hundred years hence. It seems to me therefore that in cataloguing a great collection of coins those series should be first attacked which have been hitherto neglected, and on which no modern or tolerable monograph exists, especially in English; secondly, those in which the particular museum is most rich, and in which therefore the catalogue will most completely cover the whole subject of the series; and thirdly, those in which there happens to be the greatest number of students who need help and assistance from such a catalogue, and whom it is our duty to assist.

Let me be more concrete. I will illustrate my meaning by the Indian series in the Museum. The Coinages of India before the Mohammadan conquest have been the object of assiduous attention and work in endless memoirs in the transactions of the Bengal and Bombay Societies, and in the works of Thomas, Prinsep, Cunningham, Rapson, Vincent Smith, &c., and may be said to be very well known. Two volumes dealing with the subject have appeared among the recent

British Museum Catalogues—one by Rapson on the Andhra and Kṣatrapa Coins, and the other by Allan, which was recently published, on the Gupta Coins, both of them models of the best kind and both of them much needed. The next series to be treated, if the whole Indian Coinage is to be treated from end to end continuously, would bring us to the pre-Mohammadan coins of Hindustan and its border, a subject upon which nearly everything that is known at present is available in the works above mentioned.

On the other hand, there are two series which loudly cry for consideration at an early date, and for different reasons. The first is the Sassanian Coinage. I must not enlarge to any one who has studied Eastern history (I spent thirty years at it myself) on the very important part played by the famous dynasty of Sāsān, the successors of the Parthians, and the predecessors of the Arabs as the masters of Persia and Central Asia. They had an immense influence on the renascence of Zoroastrianism and on the literature and the arts of the east in the pre-Mohammadan times, an influence which has been shown by Stein and others to have penetrated to the very borders of China.

We know from other sources how it also greatly affected the arts and especially the coinage of India, where several series are directly derived in their types from the Sassanian coins. It is quite lamentable that under these circumstances there should be no monograph of any kind available in English or in any continental language except Russian dealing with the series. In English my old friend Thomas half a century or more ago did some excellent work on some of the Sassanian coins, as you may see by turning to the older numbers of the *Chronicle*, but nothing whatever adequate or approaching adequacy exists in English. If you add to this that the British Museum is most exceptionally rich, probably by far the richest, of any coin collection in the Sassanian series, you may combine some excellent reasons for

cataloguing it as soon as may be. These reasons become almost dramatic when you happen to have a particularly gifted person for this kind of work available in my versatile friend Allan. It rather strengthens my plea that Mr. Hill is at this moment attacking a very difficult and to myself and others most important series in view of the historical puzzles to be unravelled, which is really a kind of complement of the later Parthian and of the Sassanian series, and deals with the later Aramaic coinages of Mesopotamia, Persis, Idumaea, &c., which have been the subject matter of many polemics. This volume will fill an almost absolute void in our own numismatic literature.

Let us now say a word or two about another side of the cataloguing question. In olden days it has been the custom to buy coins largely for the National Collection in order not so much to fill gaps everywhere, as to strengthen the particular series in process of being catalogued. This is not a bad plan, when as unfortunately happens too often in English Museums the Treasury grant is so miserably insufficient, but there are limits to it. My own view is that it is far more important for students that the Museum should complete those series as far as it can in which it is most rich rather than those in which it is most poor. It is where the finest collections exist that the student will naturally turn for his best help, and we ought to make his path as easy as we can by making the already rich collection as complete as we can.

Lastly, there is the question of reprinting catalogues. The fact that a catalogue is out of print is the best proof of the number of people who have found it useful, and the best excuse for reprinting it. This is not the only reason, however. There are some others sometimes which are even more pressing.

Take the so-called Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Series. Thanks to the almost unparalleled generosity of my old friend and master, General Cunningham, the British Museum collection, which was formerly deemed very rich, has been more

than doubled. It is now quite beyond the reach of competition and very nearly complete. No work is crying louder for republication than a new edition of the volume dealing with this series and incorporating Cunningham's additions, which as I have said have more than doubled it. It is due to his memory and to the obligations many of us owe to him that this work should be done before long. It ought indeed to have been done years ago, not merely on grounds of affectionate loyalty to one of the Great Masters in our science, but to the very great importance of the series in illustrating the art, mythology, and history of our great dependency and its border lands, including Parthia. A similar need has been felt by many of us for a reprint of the early volumes of the Greek Catalogue, especially that dealing with the coins of Italy, the Museum series of which has been greatly enlarged since the Catalogue was made. Apart from this, that volume in method, in illustrations, and otherwise is now quite obsolete, while the series of coins comprised in it is itself of surpassing value in solving the paradoxes of early Italian history.

I have to apologize for devoting this address to certain practical everyday and pressing matters connected with our studies rather than to an account of the recent literature of Numismatics, which would have been really "chewing the cud" and repeating an old story already known to you. It is not indeed easy to find a subject for an address like this which is not stale and otiose. You will pardon me if I have failed to interest you. In conclusion, let me once more thank you all for the many happy hours I have spent with you in this room, for your consideration and patience and urbanity. May all the pleasant things which kind thoughts can suggest attend you and all you love best. Lastly, let me commend you as a parting gift some lines of an old writer whom I greatly love, Sir Thomas Browne. They have a scent of rosemary and lavender about them, and embody the thoughts I would leave with you. He was not a very orthodox person,

but his fine words may help to lift students like ourselves to a higher plane, which science with all its great achievements is apt to blind us to. "There is no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy," he says, "the world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man; 'tis the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage that we pay for not being beasts. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works. Those highly magnify Him whose judicious inquiry into His arts, and deliberate research into His creation, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore

"Search while thou wilt; and let thy reason go
To ransom truth, e'en to the abyss below.
Rally the scattered causes, and that line
Which Nature twists be able to untwine.

* * * *

Give thou my reason that instructive flight
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so
When near the sun to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover
And though near earth more than the heavens discover,
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive
Rich with the spoils of nature to my hive,
There will I sit, like that industrious fly,
Buzzing thy praises; which shall never die
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bids me go on in a more lasting story.'"

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1914-1915 as follows:—

President.

SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, P.S.A., M.A., D.LITT., LL.D.,
PH.D., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

H. B. EARLE FOX, ESQ.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.

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F. W. VOYSEY PETERSON, Esq., B.C.S. (ret'd.)

EDWARD SHEPHERD, Esq.

HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A.

A vote of thanks to the President was moved by Mr. H. B. Earle Fox and seconded by Mr. Hill.

XIII.

THE SILVER COINAGE OF SMYRNA.

(See Plates XVI.—XVIII.)

THE following paper deals only with the main silver series struck at Smyrna—the tetradrachms and drachms of Attic weight issued during the second and first centuries B.C. In these two series it is possible, by comparison of the dies, to ascertain with a reasonable degree of probability the sequence of the magistrates responsible for the coins; and they therefore offer the best starting-point for an attempt to classify chronologically the whole of the autonomous issues. In a future paper I hope to deal with the much more plentiful, but more puzzling, bronze coinage. For the present also the other issues of silver—Sir Hermann Weber's tetradrachm of Kolophonian types, the tetradrachms of Lysimachos and of the Alexandrine series, and the cistophori—are left aside, together with the solitary issue of gold.

In the list of coins given are included and numbered all the specimens of which I have been able to obtain casts or to see satisfactory reproductions. A few others are noted which are mentioned in catalogues but are not figured. In some cases I have suggested the identity of a specimen described in one catalogue with another of the same types, from the same dies, and of the same

weight, described elsewhere; but I have added a mark of interrogation except where I could get a definite statement of the identity.



The tetradrachms fall into three series, distinguished by the types of the reverse, the obverse type remaining the same throughout. There is no change in the types of the drachms, which range with the second and third series of the tetradrachms.

FIRST SERIES: TETRADRACHMS.


Obv.—Head of Kybele (or Amazon Smyrna as city goddess) r., wearing crown of three turrets; hair knotted behind and falling in two locks.

Rev.— IMYP
 NAION and monogram below; whole in oak-wreath.


1. ARIST(ION?).

-  (a) London (*B. M. C.* 3): 33 mm., 16.44 grms.
 (b) Petrograd: 34 mm., 16.20 grms.
 (c) Paris (Waddington 1929): 33 mm., 15.97 grms.
 (d) E. F. Weber sale (lot 2942): 36 mm., 15.97 grms.


2. POSEIDONIOS.

-  (a) Berlin (Imhoof): 33 mm., 15.88 grms. (b) Berlin (Löbbecke): 35 mm., 16.26 grms. (c) Brussels (C. H.): 35 mm., 16.63 grms. (d) Oxford (Bodley Greek 767): 35 mm., 16.58 grms. (e) Paris (4156): 35 mm. (f) J. G. Milne: 34 mm., 15.64 grms. (edge cut). (g) J. G. Milne (= Hirsch's sale 17/11/13, lot 845): 33 mm., 15.85 grms. (h) Berlin duplicates sale (lot 487): 33 mm., 15.9 grms. (i) Carfræ sale (lot 260): 35 mm., 16.0 grms. (j) Montagu sale (lot 583): 33 mm., 16.26 grms.

3. MENEKRATES.




-  (a) Berlin (Acc. 28786): 35 mm., 16.02 grms.
 (b) London (*B. M. C.* 4): 35 mm., 16.62 grms.
 (c) Naples (8180): 34 mm., 16.62 grms. (d) Rhousopoulos sale (lot 3775): 35.5 mm., 16.53 grms. (e) Hirsch's sale 17/11/13 (lot 844) (? = Prowe sale 1914, lot 1021): 36 mm., 16.52 grms.

4. ZOPYROS?

-  (a) Glasgow (Hunter cat. 1): 34 mm., 16.61 grms.
 (b) Hague: 33 mm., 16.1 grms. (c) Paris (de Luynes 2286): 34 mm., 16.30 grms. (d) Petrograd: 34 mm., 16.65 grms. (e) M. R. Jameson: 34 mm., 16.67 grms. (f) Sir H. Weber: 33 mm., 16.71 grms. (g) J. G. Milne (= Benson sale lot 690): 34 mm., 15.38 grms. (h) Philipsen sale (lot 2212): 37 mm., 15.48 grms. (i) Hess's sale 7/10/07 (lot 750): 37 mm., 15.85 grms. (j) Prowe sale 1914 (lot 1022): 35 mm., 15.30 grms.

[Lot 198 of the Bunbury sale, catalogued as "monogram of TEY"—weight 16.07 grms.—presumably belonged to this type; as it was not illustrated, its further identification is impracticable.]

5. METRODOROS.

-  (a) Cambridge (Leake suppl.): 32 mm., 16.15 grms.
 (b) Glasgow (Hunter cat. 2): 33 mm., 16.41 grms.
 (c) Delbeke sale (lot 194) (? = Merzbacher's sale 15/11/10, lot 708): 37 mm., 16.26 grms.

[There is a specimen of this type in the McClean collection at Cambridge—weight 14.41 grms.—which appears to be a cast from the Leake coin—No. 5 (a)—in the same cabinet. The Vienna cabinet has a forgery, with the monogram of the same form as (c)—No. 15771, weight 17.67 grms.; another specimen of this forgery, from the same dies, is at Naples—No. 8181, weight 18.5 grms.]

The obverse dies used in this series occur as follows :—

- A. 1 (a) [Pl. XVI.], (b), (c), (d), [(c) and (d) same rev. die]; 2 (b), (c), (e), (g), (h), (j), [(e) and (g) same rev. die]; 3 (a), (b), (c), (e).
- B. 2 (a), (d) [Pl. XVI.].
- C. 2 (f) [Pl. XVI.], (i).
- D. 3 (d); 4 (c) [Pl. XVI.], (d), (j); 5 (b).
- E. 4 (a) [Pl. XVI.], (g); 5 (a).
- F. 4 (b).
- G. 4 (e) [Pl. XVI.], (h).
- H. 4 (f) [Pl. XVI.], (i) [same rev. die].
- I. 5 (c) [Pl. XVI.].

There is no great difficulty in determining the order in which the magistrates of this series should be placed. From a comparison of the casts of the various specimens it is quite clear that, in the case of the coins struck from die A, the examples of type 1 are earliest in date; on those of types 2 and 3 slight flaws in the die appear, which are rather more marked in type 3 than in type 2.¹ The order of these three magistrates is therefore fairly certain. The use of die D gives a connexion for types 3, 4, and 5. I have not got a cast of the coin 3 (d), but, so far as can be judged from the illustration in the Rhousopoulos sale catalogue, it was struck before the examples of types 4 and 5 which are from the same die. In the case of the coins from dies D and E, those of type 4 are clearly earlier than those of type 5.

As regards the resolution of the monograms, those on

¹ This obverse die seems to have been an exceptionally strong one; it occurs in conjunction with no less than twelve reverse dies, which is double the number found in the case of any other die of Smyrnaean silver. At Alexandria in the time of Tiberius the life of obverse dies used for striking billon tetradrachms seems to have been on an average between seven and eight times the length of that of reverse dies (see *Num. Chron.*, 1910, p. 338).

types 2, 3, and 5 are probably to be taken as Ποσειδωνίου, Μενεκράτους, and Μητροδώρου; that of type 1 is obviously 'Αριστ(), but it is open to doubt what the termination should be. These four names all occur on the bronze coins of a series which on other grounds can be regarded as about contemporary with this series of tetradrachms. Unfortunately the name of 'Αριστ() is given on the bronze coins also in this abbreviated form. The monogram of type 4 is more puzzling; but, if it represents the name of any magistrate who is found in the same series of bronze coins as the other four, the only such name which fits it at all closely is Ζώπυρος or Ζωπυρίων, one or other of which is presumably to be found in the abbreviated Ζωπυ() of the bronze.

SECOND SERIES: TETRADRACHMS AND DRACHMS.

Tetradrachms.

Obv.—As last series.

Rev.—Lion standing r., l. forepaw raised; above, ΊΜΥΠΝΑΙΩΝ (sometimes in two lines); below, magistrate's name (sometimes with title, patronymic, epithet, or monogram); whole in oak-wreath (monogram or title occasionally outside wreath).

Drachms.

Obv.—Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair knotted behind and falling in two or three formal curls.

Rev.—Homer seated l. on low throne, wearing himation, resting chin on r. hand and holding roll in l.; staff over r. shoulder; in field r. ♀, ΊΜΥΠΝΑΙΩΝ, l. ♀, magistrate's name (sometimes with title or epithet; occasionally monogram in exergue).

It is possible to divide this series into three groups on

considerations of style, helped by die connexions. The characteristics of each group will be dealt with in the notes following the catalogue of the coins. It may also be remarked here that while in the first group the magistrate's name is given alone, in the second and third it usually has some distinguishing epithet or other adjunct.

First Group.

6. APOLLODOTOS.

Tetr. ΑΠΟΛΛΟ
ΔΟΤΟΣ

- (a) Berlin (Löbbecke): 33 mm., 16.45 grms. (b) London (*B. M. C.* 5): 34 mm., 16.59 grms.

[There was a specimen of this type in the Prowe sale 1914, lot 1023—35 mm., 16.10 grms.; it was not illustrated in the catalogue.]

Dr. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣ

- (a) Paris (de Luynes 2289): 22 mm., 3.90 grms. (β) Dr. Imhoof-Blumer: 21 mm., 4.01 grms. (γ) Prowe sale 1914 (lot 1027): 20 mm., 3.96 grms.

7. APOLLOPHANES.

Tetr. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑ
ΝΗΣ

- (a) Hague: 35 mm., 16.6 grms. (b) London (= Montagu sale 1896, lot 585): 34 mm., 15.29 grms. (c) Vienna (17570): 35 mm., 16.51 grms.

(ΙΜΥΡ
ΝΑΙΩΝ)

- (d) Brussels (C. H.): 35 mm., 16.16 grms.

Dr. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑ
ΝΗΣ

- (a) Berlin (Imhoof): 19 mm., 3.71 grms.

8. HERAKLEIDES.

- Tetr.* ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ (a) Hague: 34 mm., 16·6 grms.
 (b) J. G. Milne (= Butler sale, lot 241): 34 mm., 16·21 grms. (c) Prowe sale 1914 (lot 1024): 35 mm., 16·37 grms.

9. MOSCHOS.

- Tetr.* ΜΟΣΧΟΣ (a) Brussels (A. F.): 35 mm., 16·01 grms. (b) Cambridge (Leake): 33 mm., 16·8 grms.
- (ΙΜΥΡ ΝΑΙΩΝ) (c) Paris (Waddington 1935): 35 mm., 16·06 grms.
 (d) E. F. Weber sale (lot 2943) (= Cumberland Clark sale, lot 233, and ? Merzbacher's sale 15/11/10, lot 709): 34 mm., 16·12 grms.

[There was a specimen of this type in the Borrell sale, lot 196—16·79 grms.—which is perhaps the one now at Cambridge; also one in the Dryasdust sale 1869, lot 261, 35 mm., 16·26 grms.]

- Dr.* ΜΟΣΧΟΣ (a) Vienna (17573): 18 mm., 3·98 grms. (β) E. F. Weber sale (lot 2945): 17 mm., 3·95 grms.

10. ΚΤΟΥΡΟΝ.

- Tetr.* ΚΤΟΥΡΩΝ (a) Cambridge (McClean): 33 mm., 16·54 grms.

11. PHANES.

Tetr. ΦΑΝΗΣ (ΙΜΥΡ ΝΑΙΩΝ) (a) Copenhagen: 33 mm., 16·6 grms.

Dr. ΦΑΝΗΣ (a) Berlin (Fox): 19 mm., 3·43 grms. [broken]. (β) Paris (Waddington 1939): 19 mm., 3·77 grms. [broken].

12. NIKOSTRATOS.

Tetr. ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (ΙΜΥΡ ΝΑΙΩΝ) (a) Berlin (Acc. 28832): 31 mm., 16·46 grms. (b) Hague: 31 mm., 16·2 grms. (c) Paris (Waddington 1936): 30 mm., 15·98 grms. (d) Vienna (33941) (? = E. F. Weber sale, lot 2944): 31 mm., 16·14 grms. (e) J. G. Milne (= Benson sale, lot 689, and ? Bunbury sale, lot 199): 33 mm., 16·19 grms. (f) H. P. Smith sale (lot 255) (= White King sale, lot 231): 31 mm., 16·39 grms.

Dr. ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (a) London (Lennep, 1894): 20 mm., 4·07 grms.

13. LEOKRATES.

Tetr. ΛΕΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (ΙΜΥΡ ΝΑΙΩΝ) (a) Berlin (Löbbecke): 32 mm., 16·87 grms. (b) Paris (Waddington 1933): 33 mm., 16·17 grms.

The following list shows the occurrence of obverse dies in this group. It will be noted that the two first

on the list of tetradrachm dies were previously used for coins of the first series.

Tetradrachms.

- F. 6 (a), (b) [Pl. XVI.], [apparently same rev. die, which was slightly recut for (b)] ; 7 (b), (c), (d), [(b) and (c) same rev. die].
 H. 7 (a).
 J. 8 (a), (b), (c), [(b) and (c) same rev. die] ; 9 (b) [Pl. XVI.], (d).
 K. 9 (a) [Pl. XVI.], (c).
 L. 10 (a) [Pl. XVI.] ; 11 (a).
 M. 12 (a) [Pl. XVII.], (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), [(b) and (c), and (d) and (e), same rev. dies].
 N. 13 (a) [Pl. XVII.], (b).

Drachms.

- α . 6 (a), (β) [Pl. XVIII.], (γ) [all same rev. die] ; 7 (a) ; 9 (a), (β) [same rev. die] ; 11 (a), (β) [same rev. die].
 β . 12 (a) [Pl. XVIII.].

The order of the first six magistrates of this group is definitely shown by die connexions. Apollodotos, Apollophanes, Moschos, and Phanes all used the same obverse die for their drachms; and a comparison of the state of the die in the various coins points to the succession being as given. Apollodotos and Apollophanes are also proved to come at the beginning of the group by their use of dies F and H, inherited from the previous series. Die F was used by both, showing more signs of wear in the coins of Apollophanes; die H seems to have been left aside during the term of Apollodotos and to have been brought out again by his successor. Herakleides apparently did not strike drachms; but he can be interpolated in the list by the

evidence of die J, which he used in common with Moschos. Both the coins of Moschos struck from this die show a flaw between the two front turrets of the crown, which does not appear in the coins of Herakleides. Herakleides, therefore, preceded Moschos, but probably came after Apollodotos and Apollophanes, and had a new die made to replace the old ones F and H used by his predecessors. Ktoupon is similarly brought into the list on the evidence of die L, which he seems, so far as can be judged from the coins, to have used before Phanes. Up to this point all the obverse dies of the group show such close likeness in artistic treatment that they may reasonably be supposed to have been engraved by the same hand; and this may equally be said of the reverse dies, with the exception of that of Phanes, which looks to be the work of an inferior artist. The position of Nikostratos and Leokrates is more uncertain, since they did not use the same dies as any other magistrates; but the resemblance of the style of their obverse dies to that of the rest of the group is so close as to justify their being placed here; and the general treatment of the reverses is also similar. These two should probably be put together at the end of the group, and not interpolated anywhere between Apollodotos and Phanes; their coins are struck on flans which are on the average of distinctly smaller size than those of the magistrates already discussed, which gives a presumption that they are later, as the general tendency of the silver in this series shows a gradual diminution in size of flan; also Nikostratos struck drachms, for which he did not use the same obverse die which had served all the magistrates who issued drachms down to Phanes. The relative position of the two is uncertain; Nikostratos

may have preceded Leokrates, or *vice versá*; at present there is no evidence to show which was the earlier.

Second Group.

14. DIONYSIOS.

Tetr. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (ΙΜΥΡ) (a) Berlin (Prokesch-
BA ΥΣ (ΝΑΙΩΝ) Osten): 33 mm.,
16·37 grms. (b)
Glasgow (Hunter
cat. 3): 30 mm.,
16·87 grms. (c)
Hague: 31 mm.,
16·35 grms. (d)
London (Lambros,
1894): 31 mm.,
16·56 grms. (e)
Paris (de Luynes
2287): 31 mm.,
16·67 grms. (f)
J. G. Milne
(= Sotheby's sale
3/4/14, lot 64):
33 mm., 16·45
grms. (g) Philip-
sen sale (lot 2213):
31 mm., 16·70
grms.

15. POLYNIKOS.

Tetr. ΠΟΛΥΝΙΚΟΣ (ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙ) (a) Berlin (Imhoof): 29
below } ΩΝ mm., 16·75 grms.
wreath } (b) Vienna(35306):
29 mm., 14·83
grms.

16. METRODOROS.

Tetr. ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ (a) Cambridge (Mc-
below } Clean): 33 mm.,
wreath } FB 16·41 grms.

17. HERAKLEIDES.

Tetr. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

- (a) London (*B. M. C.* 6):
29 mm., 16·84
grms. (b) Paris
(4159): 32 mm.
(c) Vienna(15772):
30 mm., 16·67
grms. (d) Prowe
sale 1914 (lot
1025): 32 mm.,
16·39 grms.

[Lot 259 of the
Carfrae sale was
probably of this
type: its weight
agrees with that
of (d), but it was
not figured in the
catalogue.]

18. METROBIOS.

Tetr. ΜΗΤΡΟΒΙΟΣ
below } ΒΑ ΥΣ
wreath }

- (a) Paris (4162): 31
mm.

Dr. ΜΗΤΡΟΒΙΟΣΒΑ

- (a) Paris (Waddington
1938): 19 mm.,
4·22 grms.

19. ARTEMON.

Dr. ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΓΕΛ

- (a) Berlin (Fox): 19
mm., 4·10 grms.

20. THEOTIMOS.

Tetr. ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ

- (a) Berlin (Imhoof): 30
mm., 16·54 grms.
(b) Paris (Wad-
dington 1932): 31
mm., 16·65 grms.

(Σ ΜΥΡΝΑΙ)
(ΩΝ) (c) Cambridge (Mc-
Clean): 33 mm.,
16.28 grms.

Dr. ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟC

(a) Copenhagen : 21
mm., 3.88 grms.

The following are the obverse dies used in this group:—

Tetradrachms.

O. 14 (a) [Pl. XVII.], (c), (d), (e), [(a) and (c) same rev. die].

P. 14 (f) [Pl. XVII.].

Q. 14 (b) [Pl. XVII.], (g), [same rev. die, on which BA YΣ has been erased]; 15 (a), (b).

R. 16 (a); 17 (a) [Pl. XVII.].

S. 17 (b) [Pl. XVII.], (c), (d); 18 (a); 20 (c).

T. 20 (a), (b) [Pl. XVII.].

Drachms.

γ. 18 (a) [Pl. XVIII.]; 19 (a); 20 (a).

In this group the order of the magistrates can be determined by the dies, as in the last, with one break. Dionysios appears to have used two dies, O and P, which are not shared by any other magistrate; O is found associated with three different reverse dies, and may have been worn out during the magistracy of Dionysios; on the other hand, only one specimen from P seems to have survived, and when this was struck the die was evidently in a very bad condition; so it may have been a poor die, which broke up at once. His third die was also used by Polynikos, whose coins from it show it in a more worn state; and this was presumably the latest of the three dies used by Dionysios, as the reverses of the coins struck from it show that the word BA YΣ has been erased on the die. This was doubtless an official

title,² which lapsed during the monetary magistracy of Dionysios, and was accordingly removed from his dies. The work of dies O and Q is clearly from the same hand; P is rather different in style.

There is a successive connexion of dies between the remaining magistrates. Metrodoros and Herakleides shared die R, which has some minor peculiarities; the goddess wears an earring, and there is a small spike in each space between the turrets of the crown. This die seems somewhat fresher in the case of the coin of Metrodoros. Herakleides also used die S, which was subsequently used also by Metrobios and Theotimos: there is a slight flaw beginning to show on the coin of Metrobios, which is more spread on that of Theotimos. Metrobios and Theotimos also struck drachms, from the same obverse die; and this die was also used by Artemon, of whom no tetradrachms are known; from comparison of the states of die in the drachms it appears that Artemon came between Metrobios and Theotimos.

All the dies of these tetradrachms of the last four magistrates, both obverse and reverse, show very similar work; the reverses 16 (*a*) and 20 (*c*) are rather different from the rest, but 20 (*c*) at any rate is linked to the other coins of Theotimos and that of Artemon by the use of the lunate forms of ϵ and ζ ; the lunate ϵ also occurs on the coins of Herakleides.

It might also be questioned whether Dionysios and Polynikos come at the beginning or the end of the

² The title should no doubt be expanded *βασιλεύς*. I am not aware that this form of contraction has been found before, but the contracted adjective *βασις* occurs in Ptolemaic papyri. Though *βασιλεύς* is not known as a title of a magistrate at Smyrna—on which my inquiries have been confirmed by Mr. F. W. Hasluck—it is used elsewhere on the coast of Asia Minor, occurring close to Smyrna at Kyme.

group; but the style of their coins is rather more akin to the previous group.

Third Group.

21. ANAXENOR.

Tetr. ΑΝΑΞΗΝΩΡ
ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝΟΣ (a) Copenhagen: 31 mm.,
16.72 grms.


22. DIONYSIOS.

Tetr. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΜΟΤΥΛΟΣ (a) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten):
31 mm., 16.49 grms.

23. APOLLAS.

Tetr. ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ
ΓΑΛΑΤΗΣ (a) Berlin (Imhoof): 30
mm., 16.36 grms.


24. THEODOTOS.


Tetr. ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ
 (a) Glasgow (Hunter Cat.
4): 30 mm., 16.78
grms.

25. MENODOTOS.

Tetr. ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ (a) Gotha: 33 mm., 16.35
grms.


26. HERAKLEIDES.

Tetr. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ
 under lion's
l. paw (a) Brussels (C. H.): 29
mm., 16.36 grms. (b)
Paris (4161): 31 mm.
[Lot 200 of the
Bunbury sale was ap-
parently a specimen
of this type.]

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ
ΔΗΣ  (c) Berlin (Fox): 33 mm.,
16.60 grms. (d) Mu-
nich: 31 mm. (e) Sir
H. Weber: 33 mm.,
16.17 grms.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ 
ΔΗΣ

(f) Paris (4160): 31 mm.
(g) Paris (de Luynes
2288): 29 mm., 16.40
grms.

Dr. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ
in ex. 

(u) Berlin (Fox) (= Borrell
sale 1852, lot 198): 19
mm., 3.94 grms.

27. HERMIPPOS.

Tetr. ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ (ΙΜΥΡ
ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ (ΝΑΙΩΝ)

(a) Berlin (Acc. 19562):
31 mm., 15.30 grms.
(b) Cambridge (Mc-
Clean): 33 mm., 16.52
grms. (c) Hague: 31
mm., 16.4 grms. (d)
Munich: 30 mm. (e)
Paris (Waddington
1931): 34 mm., 16.40
grms. (f) Sir H.
Weber: 29 mm., 15.74
grms. (g) Rhouso-
poulos sale (lot 3776):
33 mm., 16.25 grms.
(h) Prowe sale 1914
(lot 1026): 33 mm.,
16.30 grms.

28. DEMETRIOS.

Tetr. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ (ΙΜΥΡ
ΟΣ  (ΝΑΙΩΝ)

(a) Vienna (34969): 32
mm., 16.01 grms.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ
ΟΣ 


(b) John Ward coll. (675):
32 mm., 15.88 grms.

[There was a coin of
this magistrate in the
Lambros sale, 1910
(lot 737): 31 mm.,
16.03 grms. It was
not illustrated in the
catalogue, so I cannot
say to which variety it
belongs.]

29. PHANOKRATES.

Tetr. ΦΑΝΟΚΡΑ
ΤΗΣ 

(a) Paris (4163): 34 mm.

Dr. ΦΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
in ex. 

(a) London (*B. M. C.* 8):
18 mm., 3.38 grms.

The following obverse dies are used in this group:—

Tetradrachms.

U. 21 (a) [Pl. XVII.]; 22 (a).

V. 23 (a) [Pl. XVII.].

W. 24 (a) [Pl. XVII.].

X. 25 (a); 26 (a), (b) [Pl. XVII.], [same rev. die].

Y. 26 (d) [Pl. XVIII.], (e).

Z. 26 (c), (f), (g) [Pl. XVIII.], [(f) and (g) same rev. die]; 27 (c), (e), (g), (h), [(e) and (h) same rev. die; (c) same rev. die as (f) with obv. BB; (g) same rev. die as (b) with obv. BB].

AA. 27 (a) [Pl. XVIII.], [same rev. die as (d) with obv. BB].

BB. 27 (b) [Pl. XVIII.], (d), (f), [(b) same rev. die as (g) with obv. Z; (d) same rev. die as (a) with obv. AA; (f) same rev. die as (c) with obv. Z]; 28 (a).

CC. 28 (b); 29 (a) [Pl. XVIII.].

Drachms.

δ. 26 (a) [Pl. XVIII.].

ε. 29 (a) [Pl. XVIII.].

The determination of the order of the magistrates whose coins are included in this group is a matter of greater uncertainty than in the two previous ones. In some cases there is no connexion to be obtained by a common use of dies; and there is also less similarity of style in the dies of the group taken as a whole than is the case in the first and second groups. The order of

the first four names is therefore rather tentative. Anaxenor and Dionysios may be placed together on account of their common use of die U, which appears to have been employed at an earlier date by Anaxenor than by Dionysios. This die and V, which was used only by Apollas, are rather hard in style, and V in particular shows inferior workmanship; but the general effect is similar to the later coins of the second group, and accordingly these dies may perhaps be regarded as the earliest of this group. They introduce a new detail of work in the form of two pellets in each of the two spaces between the turrets of the crown—a detail which recurs on dies W and X, which are accordingly placed next in order. The general workmanship of these two dies is, however, much better, and shows a much softer style; W, which is used only by Theodotos, is placed first to avoid breaking the series of die connexions which exists between the remaining magistrates of the group. Menodotos and Herakleides are connected by the use of die X, and Herakleides and Hermippos by that of die Z. The coins of Herakleides show a good deal of variation in style and details, both on the obverse and on the reverse; his reverse die used with obverse die X has his name in the genitive case, and the monogram in front of the lion, while the reverse dies used with obverse dies Y and Z give the name, according to the usual practice, in the nominative, and place the monogram after it. As regards the obverse dies, Y is distinctly inferior in style to X, and seems to be by a fresh artist; while Z appears to come from yet another hand, and is of coarse execution. The last die was also used by Hermippos, whose coins show a rather puzzling set of combinations of obverse and reverse dies; in eight specimens there are examples

from three obverse and four reverse dies; one reverse die occurs with Z only, two others with Z and BB, the fourth with AA and BB. As the number of coins of Hermippos which still exist is larger than in the case of almost any other magistrate in the three series, it is possible that his issue was an exceptional one and involved the concurrent use of two obverse dies, between which the reverse dies were interchanged; or Z may have been worn out before two of the reverse dies used with it, a third reverse die may have been made for AA and have outlasted it, and all three old reverse dies may have been brought out for use with BB. It may be noted that 27 (*a*), the one coin struck from AA, shows a badly flawed die; so perhaps AA, just as was suggested for P above, was a poor die which broke up quickly. In style AA and BB are very similar, and may well be from the same hand as Y; so that it may be suggested that Z represents the interpolation of a fresh artist for a single occasion at the mint. A difference begins to be noticeable in a detail of the treatment of the reverse type about this time. In the earlier coins of the second series, the lion is represented standing, in a restful pose; but in some of the coins of Herakleides, and more markedly still in all those of Hermippos, he is almost crouching, as if about to spring. The two remaining magistrates of this group can be placed by die connexions; Demetrios used die BB, after Hermippos, in a rather flawed condition; and he shared die CC with Phanokrates, whose coin appears to show a later state of the die than that of Demetrios. This last die is again by a fresh artist, and shows distinctly better work than most of the preceding ones in the group; at the same time it has some affinity of style to the dies of the next series.

There is not much information to be obtained from the dies of the two drachms of this group, during which the issue of drachms was evidently very small. They are from different obverse dies, and all that can be said is that the work of die δ resembles very closely that of the dies of the second group, while that of die ϵ shows less affinity of style.

THIRD SERIES: TETRADRACHMS AND DRACHMS.

Tetradrachms.

Obv.—As last series.

Rev.—Lion couched r.; above IMYP
 NAIΩN ; below, magistrate's name; whole in oak-wreath.

Drachms.

Obv. and Rev.—As last series.

30. SARAPION.

Dr. $\Sigma\text{ΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ}$ (a) London (*B. M. C.* 7): 19
 (cut over IMYPNAIΩN) mm., 3.62 grms.

31. APOLLONIOS.

Tetr. ΑΠΟΛΛΩ (a) Berlin (Löbbecke): 35
 ΝΙΟΣ mm., 16.31 grms.

Dr. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (a) Paris (Waddington 1937):
 (cut over IMYPNAIΩN) 19 mm., 3.84 grms. (β)
 J. G. Milne (= Benson sale, lot 691): 19 mm.,
 3.86 grms. (γ) Philip-
 sen sale (lot 2215): 17
 mm., 4.05 grms. (? = Hel-
 bing's sale 9/4/13, lot
 567).

32. HERMAGORAS.

Dr. ΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ
Α

(a) London (Lennep, 1894):
19 mm., 3.72 grms.

33. DIOSKOURIDES.

Tetr. ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥ
ΡΙΔΗΣ

(a) Athens: 36 mm., 16.58 grms. (b) Berlin (Imhoof): 30 mm., 16.45 grms. (c) Paris (Waddington 1930): 30 mm., 14.04 grms. (d) M. R. Jameson: 35 mm., 16.25 grms. (e) Sotheby's sale 26/4/07 (lot 93): 33 mm., 16.32 grms.

[There was a specimen of this coin in the Borrell sale of 1852 (lot 197)—30 mm., 14.02 grms.—which I imagine is very probably the one now at Paris.]

34. MEGAKLES.

Tetr. ΜΕΓΑ
ΚΛΗΣ

(a) Paris (Waddington 1934):
35 mm., 16.69 grms.

35. HERODOTOS.

Tetr. ΗΡΟΔΟ
ΤΟΣ

(a) J. G. Milne (= Philipsen sale, lot 2214): 34 mm., 16.51 grms.


36. EPANDROS.

Dr. ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΣ: on throne, ΠΕ, (a) Paris (4165): 18 mm.
in field r. bunch of grapes

(β) Dr. Imhoof-Blumer: 18 mm., 3.75 grms.

37. IATRODOROS.

Dr. ΙΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ : on throne, Π, (α) Munich : 17 mm.


 in field r. bunch of grapes

The following obv. dies occur in the group :—

Tetradrachms.

DD. 31 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

EE. 33 (ε).

FF. 33 (α), (β) [Pl. XVIII.], (γ), [(β) and (γ) same rev. die].

GG. 33 (δ) [Pl. XVIII.].

HH. 34 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

II. 35 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

Drachms.

ς. 30 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

ζ. 31 (α), (β) [Pl. XVIII.], (γ), [all same rev. die].

η. 32 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

θ. 36 (α) [Pl. XVIII.], (β).

ι. 37 (α) [Pl. XVIII.].

The arrangement of the coins of the third series is more difficult than that of any of the preceding groups. There are no instances where the same die is used by two magistrates, and the only criterion in the coins themselves for determining their order is the style : this, however, can be helped by some considerations arising from comparison with the bronze coins. In fact, it is primarily the latter test which leads to the placing of some of the drachms in this series : the tetradrachms are distinguished from the second series by the attitude of the lion on the reverse, but the type of the drachms is virtually unchanged. The fullest series of magistrates' names on the autonomous coins of Smyrna is to be found in the bronze Homereia : and certainly the latest

group of the Homereia consists of those with a star on the reverse. Of the names on the tetradrachms of the third series, two—Dioskourides and Herodotos—do not occur on any of the Homereia: Apollonios is found both on the Homereia with a star and on earlier ones: Megakles only on the star-group. This gives a slight presumption that the third series of tetradrachms are practically coincident in period with the star-group of Homereia. As regards the magistrates striking drachms, Apollonios is placed by his tetradrachms: Epandros and Iatrodoros occur on the Homereia only in the star-group, and so, following the presumption just stated, may be assigned to the same period. The drachm of Hermagoras is classified by style: but that of Sarapion has other indications, which again need reference to the bronze coins. In the reverse dies both of Sarapion and Apollonios, the magistrate's name, on the left side of the coin, has clearly been cut over the ethnic: on the right, in the usual place for the drachms of this type, there is the ethnic with no signs of recutting. It is hardly likely that in two separate cases the die-cutter made the blunder of cutting the ethnic on the wrong side of the coin, and had to alter the die, before he cut the magistrate's name: it is more probable that dies originally designed with the ethnic only were reused and altered with the insertion of magistrates' names. It is true that no silver coins of Smyrna of this period with ethnic only and without magistrate's name are known: but an issue of bronze coins, both of Homereia and of the smaller denomination with reverse-type statue of Aphrodite, does occur on which there is no magistrate's name; and they probably belong in date just before the star-group of Homereia: the Homereia of this issue are

almost always restruck on earlier Homereia, which, so far as they can be made out, belong to the group preceding the star-group. The reason for, and date of, this issue of bronze without magistrate's name will be discussed later: but its existence gives support to the supposition that dies for drachms may have been cut without a magistrate's name on the reverse, and that it is two of these dies which are found altered for the issues of Sarapion and Apollonios.

The foregoing are the general reasons for grouping together the coins given as the third series: the order in which they are arranged is largely tentative. On the assumption that the series was coincident in date with the star-group of bronze Homereia—the commencement of which was accompanied by modifications in the reverse types of most of the bronze denominations, which may well be parallel to the modification in the reverse type of the tetradrachm in the third series—the considerations stated above with regard to the alteration of dies by Sarapion and Apollonios suggest that they came earliest in the series, and reused the old nameless dies of the previous authorities. The style of the obverse die of Sarapion is better than that of Apollonios, the latter being in lower relief and rather heavy: and on this ground, perhaps, Sarapion may be put before Apollonios. Apollonios, being the only magistrate of the series who struck both tetradrachms and drachms, so far as we know at present, may serve as a starting-point for arranging the remaining coins of either denomination. In the drachms, the obverse die of Hermagoras seems to be by the same artist as that of Apollonios, though the reverse die is poorer work; but, as already pointed out, Apollonios reused an old reverse die. The obverse

dies of Epandros and Iatrodoros are clearly from one hand, and that of a fresh artist, whose style is flat and sketchy: the reverses also probably are by the same man, and introduce new details in the bunch of grapes as a symbol in the field and the monogram on the throne. As for the tetradrachms, die EE of Dioskourides comes very close in style to die DD of Apollonios; the other two dies of Dioskourides, FF and GG, show a considerable degradation in style, which is shared by the obverse die of Megakles. The obverse die of Herodotos is not quite so debased as GG and HH, and perhaps represents a new hand; it rather resembles in flatness of workmanship the dies of the drachms of Epandros and Iatrodoros. On the whole, it seems probable that Apollonios and Hermagoras were closely connected in point of time, Apollonios being the earlier, as shown by his reverse die: that Dioskourides and Megakles may be grouped together, Dioskourides coming first: and that Herodotos, Epandros, and Iatrodoros represent the latest and weakest art in the silver coins of Smyrna. The relative order of the last three is, however, quite uncertain.

In concluding this part of my paper, I have to acknowledge with grateful thanks the help which I have received from many sources. I am indebted to the officers in charge of the cabinets at Athens, Berlin, Brussels, Cambridge, Copenhagen, Glasgow, Gotha, the Hague, London, Munich, Naples, Oxford, Paris, Petrograd, and Vienna for casts of the coins in their charge and for much information: the coins at Athens, Cambridge, London, Oxford, and Paris I have examined personally, when every facility was given to me. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, M. Robert Jameson, and Sir Hermann Weber have most kindly supplied me with casts of their

coins; and I have to thank Dr. Hirsch also for some casts. To Mr. Edward Barff of Smyrna I owe a special debt of gratitude, as it is through his constant and ready assistance that I have obtained the greater part of my coins of Smyrna, without which I should hardly have taken up the study of the series.

J. G. MILNE.

XIV

THE COINAGE OF PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

(See Plate XIX.)

THE coins here described belong to three groups.

(1) During journeys made in connexion with the Asia Minor Exploration Fund through the region of Pisidian Antioch during the last thirty-two years, small sets of coins have been purchased in the villages and towns from time to time and carefully preserved. Many of them were in a very bad condition, and this is naturally also the case with many of those which belong to the next group.

(2) During the recent excavations at the Hieron of Mên Askaenos, near Pisidian Antioch, a certain number of coins have been found, and many not actually found in excavation, but coming from the neighbourhood, have been shown to the excavators. By the courtesy of Sir William Ramsay I have been allowed to examine practically all these coins and make full lists of them from time to time. The bearing of these coins on the dates of occupation of the site excavated will be discussed after the excavation of the city, which may last for several years yet, is completed.

(3) Some coins belonging to the British Museum, but not published in the *Catalogue of Pisidia*, are included.

The object of the present paper is to describe a

selection of coins which are of interest to numismatists primarily. In one or two cases the provenance enables us to attribute to the Pisidian colony coins of which the attribution would otherwise be uncertain.

Babelon¹ and Imhoof-Blumer² have restored to Pisidian Antioch the autonomous coins, with a bust of Mên on the obverse and a humped bull with ANTIOXE and various magistrates' names on the reverse, which had usually been ascribed to the Carian city of the same name. In confirmation of this change, it may be mentioned that there were at least four of these coins among those submitted to me. Unfortunately all were quite illegible, except one which appears to read ΔΠΑΚΟΝ.

The new evidence also confirms, if further confirmation were necessary, Imhoof's attribution to Pisidian Antioch of the group of coins with eagle on obverse and star on reverse.³

Three specimens of the kind without magistrates' names, two with the eagle to right, one with the eagle to left, are recorded in the lists which I have made. To Imhoof's list may be added another, with eagle to right on obverse, and the magistrate's name [Θ]ΠΑ ΣΥ on the reverse (Æ. 13 mm.), which has long been in the British Museum. [Pl. XIX. 1.]

It may be noted that the magistrates' names ΔΠΑΚΟ[N] and ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟ[Y] occur on both this series and on the series with the bust of Mên and the humped bull mentioned above, showing that the two series belong to the same place and period.

¹ *Invent. Waddington*, Nos. 3566-70.

² *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 357.

³ *Revue Suisse*, xiv. (1908), p. 141.

The small coins of the Colony without Emperors' heads, or at least without their names, are represented by the following varieties :—

Types: *Obv.*—Bust of Hermes, with caduceus behind shoulder.

Rev.—Modius containing corn. Cp. *B. M. C.*, No. 2.

1. *Obv.*—ANT! l., OCH r. Bust r.

Rev.—COLO l., NIAE r.
Æ. 14 mm.

2. *Obv.*—ANTIO l., C r., H below. Bust l.

Rev.—AICO l., L above, ONI r. (*i.e.* COLONIAI).
Æ. 12 mm. [Pl. XIX. 4.]

Types: *Obv.*—Bust of Hermes, with caduceus behind shoulder.

Rev.—Bull standing. Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 358, No. 6.

3. *Obv.*—[AN]T! l., OCH r. (?). Bust r.

Rev.—AN T above, IOC r. Bull r.
Æ. 13 mm.

Types: *Obv.*—Bust of Hermes, caduceus behind shoulder.

Rev.—Winged caduceus. Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 358, No. 7.

4. *Obv.*—ANTIO l., C - - r. Bust l.

Rev.—COLO l., NIA r.
Æ. 13 mm. [Pl. XIX. 2.]

Types: *Obv.*—Bust of Hermes, caduceus behind shoulder.

Rev.—Cock. Cp. *B. M. C.*, No. 1.

5. *Obv.*—ANTIO l., CHIA r. Bust l.

Rev.—CO l., LON r., 1 below. Cock r.

Æ. 12·5 mm. [Pl. XIX. 3.] Same dies as *B. M. C.*, No. 1.

6. *Obv.*—A l., NTIOC r. Bust r.

Rev.—CO l., LON (?) r. Cock r.

Æ. 12·5 mm.

Types: *Obv.*—Bust of Mên on crescent.

Rev.—Cock. Cp. *B. M. C.*, No. 3.

7. *Obv.*—ANTIO l., CHIA r. Bust l.

Rev.—COLO r., - - l. Cock r.

Æ. 13 mm.

8. *Obv.*—ANTI r., OCHI l. Bust r.

Rev.—Inscr. illegible. Cock r.

Æ. 14 mm.

The busts on these small coins seem to me to be assimilated to various emperors. Thus the Hermes on Nos. 1, 4, and 5 seem to resemble Hadrian, while that on No. 2 may be meant for the young Caracalla. On the following coin we seem to have busts of Pius and Marcus:—

9. *Obv.*—ANT r. Bearded bust r. (Pius?).

Rev.—COLO l. Beardless bust l. (Marcus as Hermes?) with caduceus over shoulder.

Æ. 13 mm. [Pl. XIX. 5.]

Imhoof-Blumer, however,⁴ considers that these and

⁴ *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 358.

other small copper coins of the same class probably belong to the time of Severus. However, the resemblances which I have pointed out seem to indicate a longer period for the issue of these coins; and indeed it is not probable that so many varieties of small change should have been issued during so short a period.

The following issues (with the possible exception of No. 10) belong to the time of Augustus and Tiberius:—

10. *Obv.*—ÇÇAN above. Founder ploughing r. with yoke of cattle.

Rev.—Ç in middle. Four military standards (two with eagles).

Æ. 18 mm. [Pl. XIX. 6.]

11. *Obv.*—CAESAR on r. Head of Augustus r., bare.

Rev.—COL · CAES above; AV | GVS | TVS in middle, between four military standards as on preceding.

Æ. 2½ mm. [Pl. XIX. 7.] Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 358, No. 9.

The new specimen was poorly preserved; that which is here illustrated was already in the British Museum.

12. *Obv.*— - - VI · AVG · F · AVGVST · IMP · VIII. Head of Tiberius l., bare.

Rev.—C C (large) across field. Statue of the Julia Gens, seated r., resting with l. on sceptre, holding patera in r.

Æ. 22 mm. [Pl. XIX. 8.]

The type of the reverse is found not only on Roman coins of the period (Cohen², *Tiberius*, 17) but at Corinth (Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Comm.* E xcvi.) and at Caesaraugusta in Spain (Heiss, Pl. xxv. 27).

Under the latter mint, in the British Museum trays, the following coin has long been placed; but in its fabric and style it is distinctly not Spanish, and Don Antonio Vives informs me that nothing similar to it is familiar to him in his experience of Spanish coins. It may just possibly be of Antioch, although it does not seem to bear any indication of the mint:—

12a. *Obv.*—TI - - - I., - - - TVS r. Head of Tiberius r., bare. Plain border.

Rev.—IVLIA A I., - - - TA r. Similar figure to that on No. 12. Plain border.

Æ. 24 mm. [Pl. XIX. 9.]

À propos of the coin of Augustus, Imhoof remarks that on this earliest coin the colony bears only the title Colonia Caesarea. The coin of Tiberius (No. 12) shows that it still bore that title in his reign; whereas the coin No. 10 seems, if my reading of the obverse is correct, to mark the transition to the new name. Unfortunately we cannot date it exactly.

A coin of Tiberius mentioned by Babelon,⁵ reading CAE · ANTIO · COL · S · R · is described as retouched; this we may well believe, since the letters S · R do not normally appear on Antiochian coins until a much later period, and the size of the piece (34 mm.) is also a sign of lateness.⁶

⁵ *Invent. Waddington*, 3580.

⁶ Cp. Mionnet, iii. p. 492, No. 2, which appears to be a tooled coin of Gordian III. Sir W. M. Ramsay writes: "The name of the colony appears simply as C. C. in an inscription which belongs to the period about 50 A.D. The revival of the old name Antiochia as an adjunct to the Roman title Colonia Caesarea may probably have taken place under Vespasian, or perhaps Nero; and coins reading C. C. AN. may be dated accordingly."

Between the earliest period of the colony and the reign of Vespasian there seems to be a gap in the coinage. Hitherto coins of Titus but none of his father have been attributed to the colony. But among the new coins are three of Vespasian, all extremely badly worn. The greater part of the legends can, however, be restored with the help of a similar coin at Berlin (from the Imhoof-Blumer collection), the description of which I owe to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's kindness:—

13. *Obv.*—IMP VESPASIANO CAESAR I AVG COS VII P P
Bust of Vespasian r., laureate.

Rev.—LEGV on l. upwards, CC - - - (?) on r.
upwards; eagle standing, with wings spread,
between two military standards.

Æ. 26·5–24 mm. Three specimens. Two of them are countermarked on the obverse with a figure of Mên, standing to front, crescent at shoulders, resting on sceptre with r., holding Victory in l.

[Pl. XIX. 10.]

These coins date from the year 76, when Vespasian was consul for the seventh time.

Indications of the presence of veterans of the fifth legion (Gallica⁷) at Antioch are already known in four tombstones from Antioch (*C. I. L.*, iii. 293, 294; cp. Le Bas-Waddington, 1823; and two others of which Sir W. M. Ramsay informs me). One at least of these must belong to quite the earliest period of the colony. Otherwise it would have been tempting to suppose that, since the name of the fifth legion does not occur on the

⁷ The identity of Gallica with Alaudae is not certain, though assumed by earlier authorities with no evidence. Dessau (*Index to Inscr. Lat. Sel.*) distinguishes them. The name Alaudae is never used in the Antiochian inscriptions.—[W. M. R.]

coins until the year 76, it may have been veterans of the fifth Macedonica (which served in the Jewish war), rather than of the Gallica, who were settled at Antioch.⁸ Such a veteran may have brought with him the coin of Titus commemorating the subjection of Judaea which is mentioned below.



This countermark occurs on a number of coins, all but one unfortunately worn so smooth that it is impossible to determine their date with certainty. Three were among the coins submitted to me. A fourth [Pl. XIX. 12], which came from the same district many years ago, is a Greek coin of Titus, commemorating the suppression of the First Revolt of the Jews, and doubtless struck in Judaea.⁹ One of three others [Pl. XIX. 11] is countermarked on the opposite side with a bust of Mên on a crescent to right, indicating a further connexion with Antioch. The letters of the countermark can hardly be read as anything but CRAS, although on some specimens there seems to be no horizontal bar to the R. It is highly improbable that it was impressed by the authority of Sulpicius Crassus, who was proconsul of Asia towards the end of the reign of Commodus;¹⁰ for by what authority should a proconsul of Asia countermark coins in Antioch? Whatever be the meaning of the mark, the extremely worn condition of all the coins shows that the originals may have been in circulation

⁸ Several other veterans, who had served in Syrian legions, are mentioned in inscriptions of Antioch.—[W. M. R.]

⁹ B. M. C.: *Palestine*, Pl. xxxi. 3-5.

¹⁰ Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, p. 243, No. 159.

for something like a century before they were counter-marked.

From the remainder of the coins available I single out the following, mostly of Antioch itself, and worthy of notice :—

14. *Obv.*—LAVR - - r., [C]AISAR l. Bust of L. Verus r., bare (?).

Rev.—ANTIOCH above, COLON in exergue. Wolf r. suckling twins.

Æ. 15 mm. [Pl. XIX. 13.]

15. *Obv.*—PI VSAVGSE l., VERVS r. Head of Sept. Severus r., laureate.

Rev.—ANTI OCHGE l., NICOL CAES r. Female genius (Fortune), standing l., with branch and cornucopiae.

Æ. 22 mm. Cp. Mionnet, iii. p. 494, No. 17.

Obv.—IMPCAE l., SMAVRAN r. Bust of young Caracalla r., laureate.

Rev.—[FORTV]NACOLONIA E r., ANTIOCH l. Fortune, standing l., with branch and cornucopiae.

16. Æ. 22 mm.

17. Æ. 24 mm. (same *obv.* die, *rev.* ORTVNACOL - - r., ANTIQCHÆ l.). Cf. Mionnet, iii. p. 495, No. 25.

18. *Obv.*—IMPCAES l., MAVRAN r. Bust of young Caracalla r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—AN TI OCHFOR l., TVNACOLONIAE r. Fortune l., with branch in r., cornucopiae in l.

Æ. 22 mm.

This corrects my description of *B. M. C.*, No. 17, which is also of Caracalla.

19. *Obv.*— - - l., Σ TASCAE r. Bust of Geta r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ANT[1] l., OCHCOL r. Eagle to front, wings open.

Æ. 19 mm. Cp. Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, 3595, and Mionnet, iii. p. 498, No. 40.

20. *Obv.*—ANTONINVSPIVSFELAVG around. Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate.

Rev.—ANTIOCHCO L above, ONI in exergue. Wolf r. and twins.

Æ. 17 mm. Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 361, No. 21.

21. *Obv.*— - - SEVER l., ALEXAND - - r. Bust of Severus Alexander r., laureate.

Rev.—COLCE l., SANTIOCHIA r. Bust of Mên r.

Æ. 22 mm.

22. *Obv.*—IMPCMIVLPHILIPVSPFAVG around. Bust of Philip Jun. r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ANTIOCHCOLON - - in arc below, beginning on r.; in field, S R. Two cornucopiae crossed, with caduceus between them.

Æ. 19 mm. [Pl. XIX. 14.]

23. *Obv.*—IMPCAESGMESSQDECIOTRAIAV around. Bust of Trajan Decius r., radiate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ANTIOCHICOLCA around, S R in exergue. River-god Anthios reclining l., r. holding cornucopiae, l. resting on overturned urn from which water flows.

Æ. 23 mm. Same obv. die as *B. M. C.*, No. 124. Cp. Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, 3614; Mionnet, *Supp.*, vii. p. 107, No. 10.

24. *Obv.*—IMPCAESPICGALLIENVVS around. Bust of Gallienus r., laureate.

Rev.—COLCAE l., S above, ANTIOC H r. Double cornucopiae containing two busts.

Æ. 30 mm.

This coin is from the same dies as that described by de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, p. 18, No. 6 *bis* [here Pl. XIX. 15], which is accordingly of Pisidian Antioch. Compare the coin of Volusian, *Rev. Num.*, 1902, p. 348, No. 92, Pl. x. 11, on which the two busts represent Volusian and the god Mên.

25. *Obv.*—IMPCAESPAILCΛINGALLIENO (?) around. Bust of Gallienus r., radiate.

Rev.—ANTI O l., CHICL r., SR in exergue. Legionary eagle between two standards.

Æ. 23·5 mm.

The following coins, belonging to groups (1) and (2), are of other mints:—

Attaleia Pamphyliae (?).

26. *Obv.*—Two heads of Athena r., jugate.

Rev.—[ΑΤΤΑ]ΛΕΩΝ (?) on r. Zeus seated l.

Æ. 17 mm.

Apollonia Pisidiaie.

27. *Obv.*—Inscription obscure. Bust of Geta (?) r.

Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ l., ΙΑΤΩΝΑΥ - - r. Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent.

Æ. 21 mm.


Sagalassus.

28. *Obv.*—ΑΥ · ΚΜΑΥ · ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟ C · CΕΒ around. Bust of Caracalla r., laureate, undraped.

Rev.—CΑΓΑΛΑC l., CΕΩΝ r. Apollo seated l., head r., with lyre on column beside him.

Æ. 25 mm.

Apamea Cibotus.

29. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., helmeted; countermark,


Rev.—Inscription illegible. Eagle with spread wings
 on maeander, between caps of Dioscuri.

Æ. 23 mm.

Philomelium.

30. *Obv.*—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ l., ΜΑΜΕΑCΕΒ r. Bust of Mamaea r.
 on crescent.

Rev.—ΦΙΛΟΜΗΛΕΥΝΕΠΙΜΙΟΥΑΠΑΥΛΕΙ around, and
 in centre S P Q R

Æ. 34 mm.

31. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΜΑΝ[ΤΩ]ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟ around. Bust of
 Gordian III r., laureate, undraped.

Rev.—ΦΙΛΟΜ l., ΗΛΕΩΝ r. Eagle to front, wings
 spread.

Æ. 17 mm.

32, 33. Two coins of Trajan Decius, as *B. M. C.*, 39
 and 43.

Iconium.

34. *Obv.*—ΙΜΡCΑΕSΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝVSAVG around. Bust
 of Gordian III r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—COCEL IHAD l., ICONIHS r., S R in exergue;
 Roma, helmeted, seated l., holding Victory
 in r., resting with l. on spear, at foot of
 which shield.

Æ. 34 mm. [Pl. XIX. 16.]

The blundered inscription on the reverse is intended
 for Colonia Aelia Hadriana (Augusta) Iconensium.

Parlais.

35. *Obv.*—[IM]PLAVR I., COMMO - - r. Bust of Commodus r., laureate, undraped (?).

Rev.—IVLAVGHA I., COLPARLA r. Mên standing to front, head r. resting on sceptre, l. holding pine-cone; at his feet r. a cock (?).

Æ. 21 mm. Cp. Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse*, 1908, p. 88, No. 3, where it is remarked that HA (for Hadriana) is not otherwise found on coins of the colony.

Adana.

36. *Obv.*—Bust of Gordian III and inscription as on *B. M. C.*, No. 19 (same die).

Rev.—CABEINTPANKYΛΛEINAC - - - [AΔANE] and in inner circle ΩN. Bust of Tranquillina r.

Æ. 30 mm.

Seleucia ad Calycadnum.

37. *Obv.*—ΩTAKIACEYHPANEY - - around. Bust of Otacilia r.

Rev.—CEΛEYK[ΕΩ] NTΩNΠPKAAΥKEA around, ΕΥΘΕ in field l., PAC in field r. Nike l., carrying wreath and palm-branch.

Æ. 31 mm. Cp. Mionnet, iii. p. 607, No. 326; *Supp.*, vii. p. 244, No. 347.

Another specimen in the British Museum has the same reverse type with a different arrangement of the legend.

Tarsus.

38. *Obv.*—[A]YT - - A[Y]PC - HP - - - OCCEB around. Bust of Caracalla r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in field, Π [Π]

Rev.—[ANTΩN]IANHCC I., ΕΥ - - r.; in field l. A|MK|ΓB The god Sandan standing r. on lion.

Æ. 35 mm. Cp. Dressel in *Z. f. N.*, xxiv. p. 84.

39. *Obv.*— - - CEYHP OCAN - - around; in field, [Π]
[Π] (?) Bust of Caracalla r., laureate, undraped.

Rev.—[Τ]APCO[Y]MH[Τ]POKINOΒ[Ο]YAION in exergue; in field, Γ B. The Emperor with spear standing l., confronted by a female figure carrying Nike on globe, who crowns the Emperor.

Æ. 34 mm.

Uncertain Greek Imperial.

40. *Obv.*—IMPA - - r., TR · POT l. Head of Augustus r.

Rev.—Inscription obliterated; founder ploughing r. with yoke of oxen.

Æ. 27 mm.

In fabric, in the style of the head on the obverse, and in the obverse inscription, this closely resembles the coins of the Syrian Antioch. On the other hand, the colonial reverse type does not occur there. In some lights the letters in the exergue of this specimen seem to suggest ANTI - -, but perhaps the wish is father to the thought.

A word may be added here about the sources of coins other than those struck at Antioch itself which occur among those examined and identified by me. In the following list all coins are of Imperial times and of bronze unless otherwise stated:—

Macedon. Thessalonica, 1 (late autonomous, after 88 B.C., as *B. M. C.*, No. 32).

Bithynia. Nicaea, 1.

Caria. Aphrodisias, 1.

Phrygia. Apamea, 1 (autonomous, 133–48 B.C.).

„ Philomelium, 6.

Cappadocia. Caesarea, 1.

Lycaonia. Iconium, 1.

„ Parlais, 2.

- Pisidia. Apollonia, 1.
 „ Baris, 1.
 „ Pappa Tiberia, 1.
 „ Sagalassus, 1.
 „ Selge, 1 (Æ. 4th cent. B.C.).
 Pamphylia. Aspendus, 1 (autonomous, 2d.-1st cent. B.C.).
 „ Attaleia (?), 1 (late autonomous).
 Cilicia. Adana, 1.
 „ Seleucia ad Calycadnum, 1.
 „ Tarsus, 3.
 Syria. Antiochus I (?), 1.
 „ Seleucus IV, 1.
 „ Antioch, 2.
 Judaea. Judaea Capta, 1.

It will be observed that very few coins have travelled far, and that coins of neighbouring cities, such as Philomelium and those in Pisidia and Lycaonia, are in the great majority. Provenance is thus shown, as always in the case of bronze coins, to be good evidence for attribution.

It is a curious fact that not one of the large coins of sestertius size issued at Antioch from Septimius Severus to Gordian III has passed through my hands, although they are, comparatively speaking, not rare.¹¹ On the other hand, coins of apparently the same denomination from mints like Iconium, Philomelium, and Tarsus were not wanting.

G. F. HILL.

¹¹ Sir W. M. Ramsay has since shown me a specimen of the Gordian, *B. M. C.*, No. 85, acquired in the district. He adds that he has observed very large numbers of Antiochian coins in the hands of shopkeepers at Iconium. Coins of the colony evidently circulated in great numbers about Iconium as well as in the rest of the region and towns around Antioch. As regards the large coins, their comparative scarcity on the spot may be due to the fact that they are thought to be valuable, so that when discovered they speedily find their way to more important commercial centres.

PORTRAITS D'IMPERATRICES DE L'EPOQUE CONSTANTINIENNE.

(V. Pl. XX.)

L'EXISTENCE de la jeune Hélène, femme de Crispus, belle-fille de Constantin, que j'avais admise comme démontrée dans ma *Numismatique Constantinienne*,¹ a été mise en doute, pour des raisons fort sérieuses, par M. Percy Webb.²

Les arguments mis en avant par ce très-savant et consciencieux auteur ont ébranlé mes propres convictions. Je le lui ai écrit; et il a bien voulu publier une note dans les *Miscellanea*³ du *Numismatic Chronicle* pour mettre au point le problème de l'existence de deux impératrices du nom d'Hélène, sous le règne de Constantin le Grand.

Depuis lors, mon attention a été attirée sur un caractère distinctif des bustes des deux Hélénes, que je n'avais pas suffisamment utilisé dans mes recherches. Je veux parler de la différence de coiffure de ces deux impératrices.

¹ *Numismatique Constantinienne*, tome ii., pp. 450-456, dans l'étude sur "l'Atelier de Thessalonica."

² Percy H. Webb, "Helena N. F.," dans *Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 352-360.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1913, pp. 377-379.

J'avais, en réalité, indiqué dans ma *Numismatique Constantinienne* que les effigies de la jeune Hélène présentaient des cheveux ondulés, sans aucune décoration spéciale.⁴ J'avais fait remarquer également, au sujet des effigies de Galérie Valérie, l'importance de l'arrangement de la coiffure pour la détermination des bustes des impératrices.⁵ Mais je ne m'étais pas avisé de ce que Sainte Hélène portait toujours deux variétés de coiffures, avec ou sans diadème, que ne présentaient jamais les effigies de la jeune Hélène.

La question a besoin d'être reprise d'un peu plus haut.

Une remarquable publication de Lady Evans, parue dans le *Numismatic Chronicle* en 1906, avait attiré l'attention sur les coiffures des impératrices romaines et il était facile, à l'aide de ce beau travail, de suivre tous les aspects de la mode.⁶ L'auteur avait indiqué les caractères les plus distinctifs des coiffures de chaque impératrice jusqu'au V^{me} siècle de l'ère chrétienne, et avait bien défini les coiffures de Ste. Hélène.⁷ Des ondulations sur le front sont surmontées d'un large bandeau ; lequel maintient en place une tresse de cheveux qui, ramenée du derrière de la tête, vient former une boucle par devant, sous le bandeau. Parfois, disait Lady Evans, le bandeau est une large bande, apparemment de laine, qui entoure la tête. Cette bande encercle la partie de la chevelure qui couvre la tête, comme un turban est

⁴ *Numism. Constantinienne*, t. ii., p. 356.

⁵ *Ibid.*, t. ii., p. 306.

⁶ Lady Evans, "Hair-dressing of Roman Ladies," dans *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 37-65.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 60 ; voir la Planche vi ; on y trouvera No. 71 une coiffure de Galérie Valérie, No. 76 le médaillon de Ste. Hélène, No. 73 un médaillon au nom de Fausta avec l'effigie de Ste. Hélène ; No. 72 l'effigie de Fausta.

disposé autour d'un fez. Et l'auteur rappelait les invectives de Tertullien dans le *De Virginibus Velandis* contre celles qui portent des mitres et des bandes de laine qui ne voilent pas leurs têtes, mais en font des forteresses. On ne voit pas ce que ces chevelures massives avaient d'immoral, mais Tertullien était austère jusqu'à l'absurde.⁸ Ses critiques n'ont pas empêché Ste. Hélène d'adopter cette coiffure. J'irai même plus loin. J'ai fait remarquer⁹ que Lady Evans avait fort judicieusement défini une certaine mode persistante de coiffures (*Syrian tradition*). Ce genre de coiffures, inauguré par Julia Paula et Julia Soaemias, si l'on tient compte de l'existence simultanée d'un croissant et d'une certaine manière de relever les tresses de cheveux sur la nuque, a été conservé par Orbiana, Otacilia Severa, Severina, Magnia Urbica et Galérie Valérie [Pl. XX. 1-3]. Les tresses de cheveux relevées sur la nuque et ramenées sur le crâne avancement de plus en plus vers le sommet de la tête et viennent enfin se fixer sous le croissant.¹⁰

Ce genre de coiffure est le prototype de celle qu'a portée Ste. Hélène [Pl. XX. 4-10]. Le diadème ou le bandeau ont remplacé dans la coiffure de Ste. Hélène le croissant de celle de Galérie Valérie. Mais la masse des cheveux chez Ste. Hélène, comme chez Galérie Valérie, après avoir recouvert la tête, descend sur la nuque, y forme une large boucle et est ramenée en une ou deux tresses qui remontent sur la chevelure jusqu'au sommet de la tête. Ces tresses se fixent sous le diadème.

⁸ Tertullien, *D. V. V.*, c. 18.

⁹ Dans *Num. Constantin.*, t. ii., p. 306.

¹⁰ Voir sur ces coiffures les planches, annexées au travail de Lady Evans. Pl. V. No. 60 = Julia Paula; No. 59 = Julia Soaemias; No. 61 = Orbiana; Pl. VI., No. 63 = Otacilia Severa; No. 66 = Severina; No. 69 = Magnia Urbica; No. 70 et 71 = Galeria Valeria.

Il est assez intéressant de voir la mode d'un certain genre de coiffure passer de Galérie Valérie à Ste. Hélène. Ces impératrices ont-elles suivi toutes deux la tradition orientale ou bien Ste. Hélène a-t-elle voulu imiter Galérie Valérie ?

On sait, par Lactance, que cette fille de Dioclétien et femme de Galère a été persécutée ainsi que sa mère Prisca pour sa religion, et que Dioclétien voulut contraindre ces impératrices aux sacrifices païens.¹¹ Enfin Maximin Daza les poursuivit de sa haine¹² et Licinius les fit mourir.¹³ Elles étaient chrétiennes, tout porte à le croire. Ste. Hélène n'a-t-elle pas trouvé dans la religion de Galérie Valérie une raison suffisante pour l'imiter en tout ? La tradition syrienne serait devenue une tradition chrétienne. Mais Sainte Hélène n'a porté le diadème qu'après avoir été proclamée Augusta, en 324. Quelle coiffure portait-elle comme jeune fille ou jeune femme ? La très intéressante découverte d'un buste de Ste. Hélène par M. Delbrueck nous l'apprend peut-être, mais il faut d'abord identifier ce buste. Ste. Hélène (Augusta) se présente sur certains médaillons que j'ai décrits, sans le diadème, mais avec le lourd et large bandeau de laine dont il a été question plus haut. La coiffure se compose, sur le beau médaillon de Londres [Pl. XX. 13] que j'avais signalé, d'un tour de front formé de grosses ondulations de cheveux qui encadrent le front, surmonté d'un lourd bandeau de laine, lequel entoure une calotte de cheveux qui couvre le crâne et est lisse sur le médaillon.

M. Delbrueck a comparé ce médaillon au buste ignoré

¹¹ Lactance, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. xxix.

¹² *Ibid.*, c. xli.

¹³ *Ibid.*, c. li.

du Musée des Conservateurs qui présente les parties essentielles de la coiffure de Ste. Hélène. Les traits de la figure correspondent, autant qu'on en peut juger,



FIG. 1 —Buste de Ste. Hélène.

à ceux du médaillon, mais nous ne possédons que des effigies de Ste. Hélène âgée, tandis que le buste est celui d'une jeune femme. Voir pour le buste les figures Nos. 1 et 2.

Il semble toutefois que les traits du buste et ceux du médaillon soient assez semblables pour qu'on puisse attribuer l'un et l'autre de ces portraits à Ste. Hélène.¹⁴

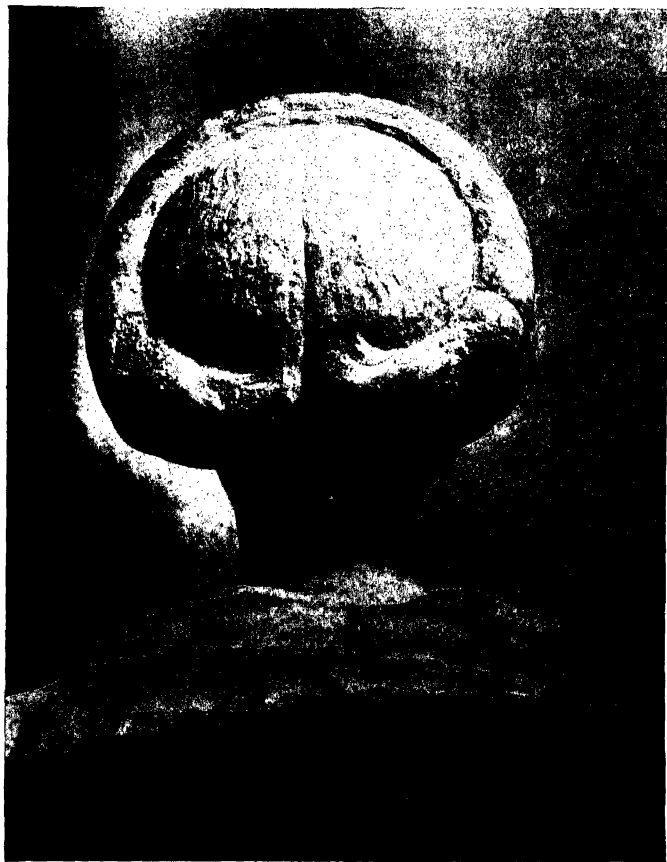


FIG. 2.—Buste de Ste. Hélène.

Cette princesse aurait adopté, dès le début de sa vie, le

¹⁴ R. Delbrueck, *Portraits Byzantinischer Kaiserinnen*, dans *Mitteilungen d. k. D. Arch. Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, vol. xxviii., 1913, pp. 327 à 330.

genre de coiffure qu'elle conserva toujours, mais après sa nomination comme Augusta, elle aurait porté le diadème et l'on n'aurait plus représenté qu'exceptionnellement le lourd bandeau que l'on voit autour de sa tête sur le médaillon et sur le buste. Le bandeau est formé sur le buste d'une manière difficile à expliquer. Les cheveux du dessus de la tête, divisés en deux masses par une raie, fournissent par derrière deux tresses qui remontent et encerclent la tête, mais on ne voit pas le point où les deux tresses se réunissent sur le sommet de la tête. Il en résulte qu'un bandeau de fausses tresses a dû être appliqué sur les cheveux naturels, ou bien que l'artiste a commis une bévue et représenté une coiffure impossible à réaliser. Il faut ajouter que les cheveux qui encadrent le front sur le buste ne sont pas ramenés en avant et ne sont pas ondulés comme ceux qui forment le tour de front de Ste. Hélène, sur le médaillon de Londres.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les parties essentielles de la coiffure sont les mêmes et l'effet produit est analogue. Le buste fait songer au médaillon.

Il est remarquable que la coiffure de Ste. Hélène ait été reproduite dans ses traits essentiels sur les monuments chrétiens de l'époque de Constantin et notamment qu'elle ait été attribuée aux femmes des Hébreux sauvées de la catastrophe de la mer rouge et en particulier à Marie, sœur d'Aaron, dans les bas-reliefs des sarcophages d'Arles et de Rome.

Je présente aux lecteurs la photographie du groupe des Hébreux dans le bas-relief de la face antérieure du sarcophage de l'église St. Trophime à Arles (Fig. 3). On peut observer sur cette photographie la coiffure de Marie, sœur d'Aaron, qui tient le tambourin et est

placée à droite de la scène. Cette coiffure se compose des trois parties essentielles de la coiffure de Ste. Hélène, à savoir : un tour de front ondulé, un bandeau, et une calotte de cheveux sur la tête, couvrant le crâne. Deux autres femmes, qui se dissimulent dans le fond de la scène, ont des coiffures pareilles. M. Delbrueck a signalé également l'imitation de la coiffure de Ste. Hélène dans la peinture de Marie, sœur d'Aaron, qui fait partie de la mosaïque de l'arc de triomphe de Ste. Marie Majeure à Rome.¹⁵

Il en résulterait que la coiffure de Ste. Hélène, dérivant elle-même de celle de Galérie Valérie, aurait été reproduite par les sculpteurs et les peintres en mosaïque chrétiens.

Les effigies de Fausta [Pl. XX. 12 et 14] et la jeune Hélène [Pl. XX. 11] présentent un genre de coiffure différant complètement du genre de celles de Galérie Valérie et de Ste. Hélène. Fausta a remis en usage la coiffure de Lucilla, femme de Lucius Vérus,¹⁶ dérivée elle-même de certaines coiffures de Faustine jeune.¹⁷ Elle consiste essentiellement en épaisses ondulations courant sur la tête perpendiculairement à la longueur des cheveux lesquels sont relevés en un nœud sur la nuque.

La chevelure de Fausta présente un nœud intermédiaire entre ceux de Lucille et de Faustine. Il est formé de l'extrémité des tresses enroulées.

Il est permis de se demander si Fausta n'a pas vu

¹⁵ Delbrueck, *op. laud.*, p. 332. Cette mosaïque est représentée dans J. P. Richter and A. C. Taylor, "The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art," Pl. 13-15.

¹⁶ Lady Evans, *op. laud.*, p. 54 et Pl. iv., Nos. 44 et 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, voir la coiffure toute simple et charmante de cette impératrice dans la Planche iv. 41 et 42.

dans l'analogie de son nom avec celui de Faustine¹⁸ une raison flatteuse de copier la coiffure de cette impératrice dont elle se rapprochait un peu par sa beauté, bien que ses traits fussent moins réguliers.

Lady Evans a émis l'opinion vraisemblable que les très-épaisses ondulations qui couvrent la tête de Lucille étaient remplies, ouatées.¹⁹ Celles de Fausta sont moins



FIG. 3.—Bas-relief d'un sarcophage.

épaisses. Les plis des cheveux courent au travers de ces ondulations et leur masse se forme en tresses qui se réunissent pour former le nœud de la nuque.

La coiffure de la jeune Hélène non plus n'a rien de

¹⁸ Ainsi que l'a pensé M. Percy H. Webb, "Fausta N. F. and other Coins," dans *Num. Chron.*, 1908, pp. 81-83.

¹⁹ Lady Evans, *op. laud.*, *Num. Chron.*, 1906, p. 54; J. Maurice, *Num. Constantin.*, t. ii., p. 452.

celle à trois étages de Ste. Hélène. Nous ne connaissons la jeune Hélène que par les effigies monétaires et même, ainsi que je l'ai déjà expliqué et le rappellerai plus loin, que par ses effigies gravées sur les coins de l'atelier de Thessalonica et reproduites sur les monnaies de cet atelier.²⁰

La coiffure de la jeune Hélène [Pl. XX. 11] est de la plus extrême simplicité. Les cheveux lisses sont ramenés en arrière; ils forment des plis fins et se réunissent en quelques tresses pour former un nœud sur la nuque. Assez voisine de celle de Fausta, cette coiffure s'en distingue par sa simplicité; elle ne présente aucun arrangement élégant, tel que les ondulations de la chevelure de Fausta.

Cette coiffure est caractéristique et distingue, d'une façon qui me paraît certaine, la jeune Hélène de Ste. Hélène, à condition de considérer, comme je l'ai fait, les premières pièces de Helena Augusta (Ste. Hélène), frappées à Alexandrie, comme l'ayant été avant que l'image officielle de cette impératrice ne soit parvenue en Egypte. On s'explique ainsi facilement que ces premières effigies ne se ressemblent pas entre elles, ayant été mal copiées sur les pièces émises, un an plus tôt, aux noms de Fausta N(obilissima) F(emina) et de Helena N. F.²¹ Les ateliers avaient en effet l'habitude à cette époque, lorsqu'il leur manquait l'effigie de la personne impériale au nom de laquelle ils devaient frapper monnaie, d'en emprunter une autre, de quelque personne de la situation la plus voisine de celle dont le portrait manquait.

²⁰ *Num. Constantin.*, t. ii., pp. 450-456.

²¹ Le travail de M. Gneccchi et la planche qu'il a donnée dans la *Rivista Italiana* de 1890, Fasc. II. et Pl. iv., sont à cet égard significatifs.

Il faut également reconnaître, avec M. Percy Webb, qu'exceptionnellement le buste et l'effigie de Ste. Hélène ont été prêtés à Fausta à l'époque où leurs médailles furent frappées simultanément de 324 à 326.²² C'est même le cas qui se présente sur un célèbre médaillon du Cabinet de France [Pl. XX. 15]. Après ces éliminations, on reconnaîtra qu'il existe trois types de coiffures absolument caractéristiques, sous le règne de Constantin ; à savoir celui de Ste. Hélène avec ses trois étages ; celui de Fausta aux cheveux lisses et ondulés formant une seule masse et terminés en nœud sur la nuque, celui de la jeune Hélène se rapprochant de celui de Fausta mais ne comportant pas d'ondulations et différant totalement par sa simplicité de la coiffure de Ste. Hélène.

L'existence de la jeune Hélène est bien établie, à mon avis, au point de vue historique. En effet elle ne repose pas sur un document unique, mais sur deux : 1° Une loi du code Théodosien dans laquelle l'amnistie est accordée à beaucoup de condamnés de droit commun à l'occasion de la naissance du premier enfant de Crispus et de la jeune Hélène.²³ 2° Les monnaies frappées à Thessalonica et ne pouvant pas être attribuées à Ste. Hélène parce que l'effigie ne s'y présente pas sous les aspects constants et protocolaires de celle de cette impératrice.

Pour répondre aux objections qui m'ont été faites, je dois résumer une communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres du 22 Mai dernier²⁴ et y renvoyer. Les documents concernant la jeune Hélène sont rares comme ceux relatifs à Crispus parce qu'après la mort

²² Percy H. Webb, dans *Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 352-360 et Pl. xxi., voir le No. 29.

²³ Cod. Theod., livre ix., titre 33, loi 1.

²⁴ Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, séance du 22 mai, 1914.

de ce dernier, qui eut lieu au bénéfice des enfants de Fausta, ceux-ci firent disparaître toute trace de l'histoire de Crispus et de la jeune Hélène. Le nom de Crispus ne paraît même pas dans *La vie de Constantin* par Eusèbe publiée, après la mort de cet auteur, dans le règne de Constance II et retouchée sous l'influence de cet empereur. Toutes les lois relatives à la légitimation de Crispus, qui le rendaient l'héritier de son père, ont été supprimées ou découpées. Elles sont manifestement retouchées ou supprimées pour faire disparaître la mémoire de ce malheureux prince.²⁵

Le nom de Crispus, qui se trouvait en tête des lois promulguées en faveur des chrétiens, a disparu.²⁶ C'est par miracle que la loi unique que nous possédons sur Crispus et Hélène nous soit parvenue. Les codes présentent d'autres exemples de lois qui ont échappé à une destruction voulue. Après avoir indiqué ces raisons de la rareté des documents relatifs à Crispus et à la jeune Hélène, j'attire l'attention sur un fait très important : toutes les monnaies authentiques de la jeune Hélène ont été frappées à Thessalonica en 323-324.²⁷

M. Percy Webb a reconnu l'importance de ce fait. Il a bien voulu dire, pour confirmer ma classification de ces pièces, que le style de celles mêmes qui ne portent pas de marques d'atelier permet de les attribuer à celui de Thessalonica. Mais M. Percy Webb se demande si l'attribution de ces pièces à cet atelier confirme mes autres raisons de croire à l'existence de

²⁵ Cod. Théod., livre iv., titre 6, "de naturalibus filiis." La 1^{re} loi a disparu, la seconde est incomplète. L'empereur Zénon fait allusion à cette législation disparue.

²⁶ Sozomène, *Hist. Eccles.*, i., 5.

²⁷ *Num. Constantin.*, ii., 450 ff.

la jeune Hélène.²⁸ Je répondrai : certainement oui ; puisque d'une part il n'y avait aucune raison de frapper exclusivement dans l'atelier de Thessalonica les monnaies de la mère de l'empereur, c'est à dire Ste. Hélène. Il existait au contraire une raison positive d'y frapper les monnaies de la jeune Hélène et de ne les émettre que dans cet atelier ; Crispus organisait, en cette année 323, à Thessalonica, la flotte avec laquelle il devait livrer à son père la clef de Constantinople, laquelle ne pouvait être prise que par mer, et assurer ainsi la conquête de l'Orient. Il était destiné à cette époque, et le fut jusqu'au jour de sa mort, à tenir le second rang dans l'empire. Il était le fils préféré de Constantin le Grand. Ce fut ce qui amena sa fin tragique provoquée par les intrigues criminelles de l'impératrice Fausta.²⁹ Constantin voulait reconstituer, au profit de sa famille, la tétrarchie de Dioclétien, et Crispus devait occuper le rang du second Auguste. Cette situation exceptionnelle de son fils aîné justifiait, en 323, la frappe des monnaies au nom et à l'effigie de sa femme, la jeune Hélène, en même temps de celles de Fausta. L'ordre d'émettre ces monnaies ne pouvait pas venir de Crispus, ainsi que M. Percy Webb s'est demandé.³⁰ Il n'y avait en 323-324 qu'une seule administration centrale des monnaies envoyant des ordres à tous les ateliers de l'empire.³¹ L'ordre venait donc de Constantin le Grand et faisait partie de son plan de réorganisation de l'empire, au bénéfice de sa famille.

²⁸ Percy Webb, *Miscellanea*, dans *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 378.

²⁹ Je suis obligé de renvoyer à mon travail indiquée, en cours de publication.

³⁰ Dans *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 378.

³¹ *Num. Constantinienne*, t. i., pp. xi., xv.

Il faisait frapper monnaie au nom des deux impératrices qui allaient devenir en 326 les épouses des deux Augustes. Il donna, il est vrai, en 324, le titre d'Augusta à Fausta, mais ce fut parce qu'il avait élevé sa mère à ce rang. Il n'en voulut pas priver sa femme ; et en attendant qu'il put y élever la jeune Hélène, il était naturel qu'il fît cesser l'émission de ses monnaies.

Ste. Hélène, au contraire, ne devait pas monter en rang. Nous savons d'autre part par Théophanès qu'elle reçut le droit d'effigie, après la guerre d'Orient et avant que Constantin ait commencé à construire Constantinople dans Byzance.³² Or cette affirmation de Théophanès est d'accord avec le fait que dès la fin de la guerre entre Constantin et Licinius, en Orient, et dans tout l'empire après cette guerre, on frappa dans tous les ateliers monétaires des pièces au nom de Helena Augusta, dont l'effigie était diadémée.³³ Il est naturel d'admettre que, le dire de Théophanès et le témoignage des émissions concordant, nous pouvons fixer le commencement de l'émission des monnaies de Ste. Hélène après la guerre d'Orient, à la fin de l'année 324.

Les projets de Constantin le Grand pour l'année 326, dont il vient d'être question, sont signalés par les monnaies comme par les lois. Si les lois avaient fait de Crispus l'héritier légitime de son père, devant s'élever au rang suprême ;³⁴ d'innombrables monnaies, d'autre part, frappées dans tout l'empire après la déchéance

³² Théophanès, *Chronographia*, anno 5816 mundi.

³³ Voir toutes les émissions monétaires commençant en 324.

³⁴ Cf. *Cod. Théod.*, livre iv., et *Cod. Just.*, livre v. Constantin fait allusion à son propre rescrit disparu, dans *Cod. Just.*, v. 27, 5.

de Licinius, étaient dédiées à la Providence des Augustes.³⁵

J'ai montré que ce pluriel ne pouvait s'expliquer que par le projet arrêté de Constantin d'élever son fils aîné au rang d'Auguste et que dans d'autres occasions, il s'était ainsi servi des monnaies, comme moyen de publicité pour faire connaître ses intentions à ses sujets.³⁶

Je dois, pour finir, rappeler les caractères des portraits de la jeune Hélène que nous pouvons relever sur les petites pièces frappées à Thessalonica.³⁷

Cette princesse avait un cou épais, des traits lourds et une mâchoire fortement accusée. Elle n'avait pas la majesté et les nobles traits de Ste. Hélène, dont le nez aquilin, la bouche bien fendue et calme, le regard profond et l'expression sévère du visage présagent la figure de Constantin le Grand.³⁸ Elle avait encore moins le cou fin, souple et élégant, et les traits délicats qui donnaient à la figure de Fausta une grâce séductrice. On ne peut toutefois arriver à ces conclusions qu'en tenant compte des substitutions d'effigies. Il est naturel que, vivante ou morte, après l'effroyable drame de 326 qui vint bouleverser l'empire au moment où il devait atteindre à son apogée, la jeune Hélène disparut de l'histoire. Une loi d'avril 326 par laquelle Constantin écarte les accusations d'adultère lorsqu'elles proviennent par des parents consanguins du mari,³⁹ et les monnaies de Crispus frappées jusqu'en

³⁵ Elles composent les émissions de tous les ateliers qui débutent en novembre 324.

³⁶ Avant les guerres de 314 et 324; cf. *Num. Constantinienne*, t. i., 190, 278, 325; t. ii., 450.

³⁷ *Num. Constantin.*, t. ii., p. 456.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, t. i., Planche viii.

³⁹ Cod. Théod., ix. 7, 2—les parents sont ainsi désignés: "patrueli consobrino et consanguineo maxime fratri."

juillet 326,⁴⁰ prouvent que Constantin n'avait pas encore accepté les accusations portées contre son fils, pendant la première partie de l'année 326, et que ce fut au moment même des fêtes des Triennalia (juillet 326) qu'une révélation subite qui ne put être qu'une mise en scène savamment ourdie comme celle qui avait en 310 amené la mort de Maximien Hercule,⁴¹ vint débarrasser Fausta du rival et maître de ses fils. Crispus étant mort, la jeune Hélène rentra forcément dans l'ombre et lorsque les fils de Fausta régnèrent, on s'attacha à ne rien laisser subsister des mémoires malheureuses et condamnées de Crispus et de la jeune Hélène.

JULES MAURICE.

⁴⁰ Ces pièces ont été émisés pour célébrer les anniversaires des Césars; t. ii., pp. 353, 464; t. iii., pp. 70, 205. Il est probable que ces monnaies ont été frappées en 325 et 326.

⁴¹ Lactance, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, cxxx., confirmé par le Panégyrique, vii., c. 20.

XVI.

THE COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

(Continued from Vol. X. p. 145.)

(See Plates XXI.-XXIV.)

THE POST-RESTORATION PERIOD, APRIL, 1471, TO APRIL, 1483.

IN the consideration of the coinage of the reign of Edward IV the writer has now reached the last of the three periods into which it appeared naturally to divide itself, and a brief historical survey may be desirable of events from the final deposition of Henry VI after his brief restoration until the death of Edward IV.

After residing in Flanders since his flight from England in October, 1470, Edward with a few followers returned and landed at Ravenspur early in March, 1471. He was soon joined by other adherents, and at first gave out that he had only come back to claim his Duchy of York, but with rapidly increasing forces he shortly dropped this pretext and, boldly proclaiming his kingly right, advanced rapidly to London, which he entered on April 11, having avoided the Lancastrian army under the Earl of Warwick which had advanced northward to meet him. Warwick had left his brother, the Archbishop of York, in charge of the unhappy Henry VI, but this

time-serving prelate no sooner heard of the successful advance of Edward than he hastened to secure a pardon for himself by assisting his admission into the city and by delivering his charge into the king's hands. After putting King Henry together with the Archbishop into custody, Edward went by boat to Westminster, where, after having the crown set on his head by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he hastened to see the queen in the sanctuary of the Abbey, where she had lived unmolested since his flight from England. Here in the previous November she had given birth to their son, afterwards Edward V, whom to his great joy she now placed in his arms. After passing the next day (Good Friday) at Westminster he hastened northward to meet the Lancastrian army under Warwick, which in order to secure the capital he had previously avoided. After the defeat and death of the earl at the battle of Barnet, Edward proceeded to deal with the army assembled in the west under Queen Margaret and the young Prince Edward her son. The victory of Tewkesbury and the death of the prince having entirely crushed the Lancastrian cause, there only remained the imprisoned Henry VI as a possible obstacle in Edward's path, and he was murdered in his prison on the night of the king's triumphant return to London. The remainder of Edward IV's reign was occupied mainly with the restoration of order in the affairs of the State, and no important events occurred affecting the coinage excepting in as far as the ecclesiastical mints of York and Durham are to some extent concerned; these will be noticed in treating of these mints. The Royal Mints of York and Bristol continued to work for some time after Edward's return, Bristol only ceasing to do so in July, 1472. After that date no money was

struck at any Royal Mint but the Tower.¹ There appears to have been no delay in coining money after Edward's return, but fresh obverse dies must have been made in all cases, as I have detected no instance of an alteration of the king's name, but apart (in most instances) from the mint-mark the same punches were employed as had served for Henry VI. The annulet mint-mark which I unhesitatingly associate with the first coins struck after Edward's return has, I believe, a special meaning which locates its position. The annulet is the ring of St. Edward, which was the badge or cognizance of Westminster Abbey, often used as an addition to the regular shield of arms, or by itself alone. Edward's gratitude and joy at the protection received there by the queen during his absence, and the birth of his son in the sanctuary would naturally have suggested for the new coins such an emblem as this.²

A brief summary of the legend connected with St. Edward's ring may here be of interest. King Edward in his old age was present at the hallowing of a church at Havering in Essex to be dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. During the procession an old man begged an alms from him in honour of God and St. John. The king having nothing ready to give took off the ring from his finger and gave it to the poor man, who thanked him and departed. Some time after two English

¹ Exchequer Accounts K. R. Bundle 294, No. 28.

² It is not necessary in this connexion to assume that the king personally selected the mint-marks, but as some of them, at least, are obviously chosen out of compliment to him with reference to personal events or associations, such as the sun and the rose, and as the mint was part of the Royal establishment in the Tower, it would appear not to be improbable that the king's approval was given for those marks which had reference to himself even if he may not have ordered them.

pilgrims in the Holy Land who had lost their way were met by a "fair ancient man" who spoke to them, and after putting them on their right way told them that he was John the Evangelist, and gave them a ring which, as he said, he had received from their King Edward at the hallowing of his church, and charged them on their return to take it to the king, and say that St. John the Evangelist had sent it to him as a sign that he should settle all his worldly affairs, for he would shortly be with him in heaven. The king received the ring, which he at once recognized with joy, and thanked God and St. John for giving him this warning of his death, which occurred shortly after. The ring is recorded to have been given to the monastery of Westminster by Abbot Laurentius, who died in 1175, and was preserved as one of the most valued relics of the Church. It was frequently used as a cognizance of the Abbey in all succeeding periods until the dissolution, the last instance probably being on the funeral roll of Abbot Islip—1533. Edward II at his coronation offered, it is recorded, a pound of gold made like a king holding a ring in his hand, and a mark of gold made like a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive it.³

Although the annulet or ring of St. Edward was very shortly after the king's return adopted as the special mint-mark, the short-cross fitchée used during the restoration of Henry VI, and on some previous groats of Edward IV, was at first continued to some small extent, but in most instances it only appears on the reverse, and is owing probably to the use of a Henry VI reverse die, with the new annulet obverse. Bristol issued post-restoration coins of gold and silver with the annulet

³ Dart's *History of the Abbey Church of Westminster*, pp. 50, 51.

mint-mark, and it appears on pennies of the same period struck at York, although at the latter mint the long-established lys mint-mark is not displaced on the larger coins. The post-restoration coins of the Royal Mint of York are very rare, and, so far, are only known in silver, although according to the mint accounts gold was also struck there, but the quantity of both metals coined was very small. The mint accounts as far as at present classified make no mention of any money struck at Canterbury, but on the contrary state for several of the later years of this reign that no money was struck anywhere but at the Tower.

On a few of what I consider the earliest annulet coins the mint-mark on the reverse is a trefoil of pellets joined together, which is probably emblematic of the Trinity, seeing that the annulet had also a religious significance, and that sacred emblems were at the period in question rather frequent on the coins. The earliest post-restoration angels have St. Michael with a cross in the centre of his nimbus, and in some instances a trefoil where its meaning is more obvious than on the groats. The groats with the trefoil-marked reverse have almost invariably small annulets as stops on the obverse, and the annulet mint-mark is larger than when it came to be used on both sides. The annulet stops are found on no other groats of Edward IV. One of the first necessities after the king was again firmly seated on the throne was a new great seal, as his last one, having been altered to serve for Henry VI by the obliteration of his name and badges, was useless. The new seal was a very fine one, showing the king seated under a rich canopy wearing an arched crown (thus long anticipating a similar presentment of the

royal bust on the coins).⁴ On either side is a shield of arms with roses and suns in splendour (separately) above and below. There is also a rose and a sun below and on either side of the pedestal to the throne, while above the king's head and below the canopy is a six-leaved rose. The legend has roses between the words. It will be noticed that on this last seal the roses and suns are used separately, and are not like the former roses *on* suns. I have given these details of the last seal of Edward IV as its characteristics are found, in *some* form and as circumstances suggested, on the coins of almost all the issues after his return from exile until his death. His family badge of the rose and his personal badge of the sun are brought into great prominence, and in a different manner from formerly. These features were very soon introduced or revived upon the coins, particularly on those of Bristol and the prelatical mints. On a few half-groats of London the rose is used as a reverse mint-mark with the annulet on the obverse; but this is the only instance of its use on the early silver post-restoration coins of London. At Bristol both the rose and the sun are used as obverse mint-marks for groats where the annulet serves for the reverse. On the angels and half-angels, now the only gold coins issued, the rose at once took the place of the fleur-de-lys of Henry VI, and occasionally is introduced in and at the end of the reverse legend on half-angels. A few early post-restoration angels have the sun in place of the rose at the right of the cross, a

⁴ Although not used on the coins until the second coinage of Henry VII, the arched crown is shown in the Coronation group of Henry V on his chantry at Westminster, and over the arms of Henry VI at Croydon Palace.

specimen being described in the Montagu Catalogue (Lot 593). It is a very rare coin, and I have not seen a specimen, but several are known on which the sun can be seen beneath a rose which has been punched over it on the die. On the later issues of both gold and silver, roses and suns are found as on the great seal between some of the words of the legends, but in no case do we find the rose *on* the sun, as on the pre-restoration gold coins, which is again a following of the principle adopted for the latest great seal. To return to the sequence of mint-marks, the first change was the introduction of a pellet into the centre of the annulet, when also a distinct change is to be observed in the character of the king's bust, which becomes generally larger with the hair standing more away from the face. The legend reads DEI and the B-like R now disappears. At the same time the position of the annulet-and-pellet mint-mark is clear, for we find coins on which it appears on one side, while the original annulet alone is on the other. A special feature of probably the earliest annulet-and-pellet groats is a large rose at each side of the king's bust, which is, however, discontinued very shortly, and, indeed, the annulet-and-pellet mint-mark on any coins had a very short life, as all are rather rare. I have a half-groat and a halfpenny both of which are hitherto unpublished, as is also the penny of which I have seen a specimen. Angels and groats are much less rare than other denominations.

The mint-mark coming next in order is a cross with four pellets in the angles. I place it here because the bust and lettering on the groats approach nearest in character to the annulet-and-pellet groats, while


the reading DEI is continued only on the coins of this issue and on those of the early plain cross pierced issue which followed; the location is confirmed by a groat in my collection having the cross and four pellets mint-mark on the obverse, while that on the reverse is the cross pierced punched over the annulet (and pellet?).⁵ Angels are found with the cross and four pellets mint-mark, but I have not seen the smaller denominations in either gold or silver. With this issue a new feature appears which was continued to the end of this reign, and even after. An A with a V-shaped bar is found on the obverse in ANGL, and on the reverse in TAS, but only in these two instances, the other π 's being unbarred, as on all previous coins. The barred A would seem to be a privy mark to which importance was attached, as after its first appearance it is never wanting in the two positions mentioned. After a very short time (judging by the fewness of the coins) the cross and four pellets gave way as a mint-mark to a plain cross pierced of rather the pattée form, but the character of the bust and the reading DEI continued. Half groats and pennies attributable to this period are found, but the cross mint-mark is nearly always punched over the annulet (and pellet?). Up to this time the fleurs to the cusps of the tressure are always trefoils of pellets. With the next succeeding issue a general change is to be noticed; the king's head becomes larger, and the features and other details are executed with greater neatness. The fleurs of the tressure become large three-leaved terminals, while a new and special feature, usually of the reverse only, is

⁵ The plain cross pierced is more often than not the reverse mint-mark of the cross and four pellets groats.

the introduction of small roses or suns in the outer legend, generally in two places, after DÆVM and AÐIVTORÆ. In this particular another feature of the latest great seal is to be observed. The mint-mark is now a pierced cross with a pellet in one angle—not always the same one, but usually in the lower right or left corner. Whether this difference of position for the pellet was intentional or merely the result of carelessness there is nothing to indicate, as no other variation is to be remarked on coins with either variety of mint-mark. The pierced cross and pellet must have continued in use for some time as angels and groats are very common, although smaller pieces are much rarer, as is the case with all issues of this reign. After the pierced cross and pellet had been in use for some considerable time a return appears to have been made to the cross pierced without any pellet, although I am inclined to think that the position of the pellet or pellets (which was probably a privy mark) was merely given a different place, as on some of the groats in question a pellet is placed on either side of the king's neck, and between the ordinary pellets in two quarters of the reverse, while on others a pellet is found in the centre of the piercing of the cross mint-mark giving the effect of a sunk circle.⁶ Some groats are, however, without the pellets in any position on the obverse. This last group I place here because the same punches have obviously been used for the bust, &c., as were used for some of the earlier groats of the next issue. The halfpenny with pellets at sides of bust is known, but I believe no other values have been discovered so

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Earle Fox for calling my attention to this groat.

far. But for this they might have seemed more correctly located after the *first* variety with the pierced cross mint-mark.

The last mint-mark adopted was the well-known heraldic cinquefoil, which was probably in use for several years, as the cinquefoil angels and groats are very abundant, much more so than those of any other post-restoration issue, while the mint accounts for the later years of Edward's reign show a regular coinage of a considerable amount of both gold and silver. The groats of this issue, but not the smaller silver coins, all have a rose on the king's breast or what has been considered to be a rose, although I believe it to be a curled leaf of conventional foliage , as a similar object used as a mint-mark on the York and Durham pennies, and on some Canterbury coins at this period, certainly is. On the groats the break in the circle is not generally visible owing to its coming on the front of the cusp of the tressure, but where used in other positions it is quite distinct when well struck up. A reason for believing that the cinquefoil was in use as a mint-mark for a lengthy period is that we find it on groats and smaller pieces with more than one type of bust. On the earliest it is the same as on the last variety of the pierced cross and pellet issue, and on the latest it exactly resembles the bust on the groats of Edward V and Richard III, while on the groats, at least, there are intermediate varieties. One variety has the A with V-shaped bars in every instance where the letter occurs in both obverse and reverse legends.

As previously stated no money was coined at any provincial Royal Mint after the closing of that at Bristol about July, 1472. The Archiepiscopal Mint at Canterbury appears to have issued half-groats which can be

fairly connected with all the post-restoration London issues by the character of the king's portrait. No change occurred on the occupancy of the See, and Cardinal Bouchier appears to have enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of the king, with the result that nothing occurred to cause any very marked changes in the coinage from the Archbishop's mint, save that his badge was latterly omitted.

At York there were several changes, and things went very differently, as we shall see in treating of this mint.

At Durham the changes in the occupancy of the See are reflected on the coins, as we shall find in treating the issues during the period under consideration.

THE ROYAL PROVINCIAL MINTS.

THE BRISTOL MINT.

The mint at this town continued working without interruption after the return of Edward IV and until July, 1472, up to which date the amount of gold and silver coined during each successive month with one exception, is given in the Exchequer rolls,⁷ and here it may be well to give the accounts in which these are set forth.

⁷ Exchequer Accounts, K. R. Bundle 294, No. 20.

11th of Edward IV.	Gold.		Silver.	
	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.
May	28	3	127	3
June	9	4	80	6
July	10	5	82	9
September	10	6	74	6
October	7	6	21	8
November	7	3	24	4
December	8	3	24	0
January	5	8	34	6
February	4	0	40	0
12th of Edward IV.				
March	4	6	77	3
April	6	6	85	0
May	3	6	68	0
June	5	6	75	0
July	6	9	88	6

In an account (subsequent to this latter date) of John Wode, Esq., keeper of the exchange and money within the Tower of London and keeper of the mints of gold and silver in the Kingdom of England . . . of profits issuing from the exchanges and mints, in the Tower of London, City of York and town of Bristol from the September 30, 10 Edward IV, to April 14 then following, "he does not render account it being the time of the usurpation of Henry VI late *de facto*, but not *de jure* king of England, and because he (the said John) received during that time no issues or profits of the said office nor could he receive the same." He proceeds to state in reference to the Bristol Mint that "he does not account for £17 17s. 10½*d.* part of £51 17s. 10½*d.* the amount of the the king's seigniorage, or 117 lbs. 3 ozs. of gold and 903 lbs. 3 ozs. of silver weighed, worked and minted in the king's exchange in Bristol between April 14, 11 Edward IV, and July 23, 12 Edward IV, because Hugh Brice, deputy of Lord Hastings, master of the said mint had and took the said £17 17s. 10½*d.* on account of the

king and still holds the same and refuses to deliver the same, for which £17 17s. 10½*d.*, the said Hugh Brice ought to account to the king (which he does later). But accounts for £34 the residue of the said £51 17s. 10½*d.* issuing from the coinage of the said 117 lbs. 3 ozs. of gold and 903 lbs. 3 ozs. of silver received by him from the hands of John Mokolowe, deputy of the said keeper of the king's exchange in the said town for the time aforesaid."⁸ Although as much as 117 lbs. 3 ozs. weight of gold was coined into angels and probably angelets also between May, 1471, and July, 1472, it is interesting to note that possibly out of the whole only two angels have come down to our times. One formerly in the Cuff collection is now in the British Museum, while another is in the Evans collection; both are almost identical in every detail and have the annulet mint-mark on the obverse only. There was no specimen of this coin in either the Montagu or Rashleigh collections, and I have been unable to trace any other specimen than the two I have mentioned. Probably the earliest post-restoration groat of Edward IV struck at Bristol is one with the rose mint-mark on both obverse and reverse. This coin is struck from the identical reverse die used for the Bristol groat of Henry VI reading *hENRICVS* (No. 1 in my list, *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. X. p. 142), where certain peculiarities which I have noted can be readily identified on both coins. As I have before remarked, the mint-mark and other features used in the London Mint would seem to have taken a little time to reach the provincial mints, and consequently the annulet, which I consider the earliest mint-mark introduced in

⁸ L.T.R. Foreign Accounts, 16 Edw. IV, No. 110.

the post-restoration period, is not found on what appear to be the earliest Bristol coins where the rose is used alone at first, but later it is used with the annulet as a reverse mint-mark. The sun is also found as an obverse mark with an annulet reverse, and some groats have the annulet on both obverse and reverse. In the British Museum there is a Bristol half-groat of this period which has the rose mint-mark on the obverse and the short-cross fitchée on the reverse (probably a Henry VI die). It is the only specimen I have met with and was purchased as long ago as 1840. It is to be noted that all post-restoration coins of Bristol are without emblems in the field of the obverse, a feature which would appear to have continued at this mint until the restoration of Henry VI, when it ceased, and was not revived. No Bristol coin smaller than the half-groat has so far been discovered of this coinage, but there is no reason to suppose that all denominations were not struck, particularly as we now have in the British Museum a Bristol halfpenny of the light coinage of Henry VI, which only came to light after I wrote on that period.

THE ROYAL MINT AT YORK.

The Royal Mint at this city continued, like that at Bristol, to work after the return of Edward IV, but its activity was not for long, as from the mint accounts it appears to have stopped after the following September. As in the case of Bristol I will here give the monthly amounts of bullion coined according to the Exchequer rolls from April to September, 1471.

	Gold.		Silver.	
	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.
April	7	4	38	4
May	8	4	40	8
June	11	6	51	4
July	9	4	44	4
August	9	6	36	6
September	8	6½	31	6

Out of 54 lbs. 6½ ozs. of gold coined during these six months into angels or angelets no specimen appears so far to be known, and very possibly none exists, seeing that in the case of Bristol, where more than double the amount of gold was coined, we can only trace two angels. In silver, groats, half-groats, and pennies are found, but all are rare or very rare, as is to be expected when we see how comparatively small an amount was coined. The absence of emblems in the field of the obverse is, as in the case of Bristol, the chief distinctive mark of the York post-restoration coins from the Royal Mint. Except on pennies the mint-mark continued to be the invariable fleur-de-lys which had never been discontinued since it displaced the sun and crown mint-marks in the early days of the light coinage. I have a penny with the annulet mint-mark, which, from the character of the bust, I should place a little later than the one I have seen with the lys mint-mark, and I am now of opinion that the penny with the rose mint-mark and a rose on the king's breast belongs to this period, although I at first placed it with the earlier rose-marked coins. The bust is distinctly of later character, and I felt doubts about its location from the first. As the York regal coins of this issue offer so few distinctive marks by which they can be identified in describing them, it is specially necessary to bear in mind that they

are to be easily recognized by the characters of the bust and lettering, which are identical with the same features of the restoration coins of Henry VI.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL MINTS.

YORK.

Although not in the usual alphabetical order it is perhaps better to take first the Archiepiscopal Mint of York as being the most important of the ecclesiastical mints, and at this period the most historically interesting. As we have already seen Archbishop Nevill obtained a pardon from Edward IV dated April 13, 1471 (two days before Edward's entry into London), in return for his treachery to Henry VI, and for about a year after, until probably April, 1472, remained in favour with the king, being entertained by him at Windsor, when Edward promised to come and hunt with him at his palace of the Moor near Langley in Hertfordshire, but the day before the king should have come the Archbishop was commanded to go to Windsor, and on his arrival was arrested on a charge of high treason for conspiring with the Earl of Oxford, the most powerful remaining Lancastrian noble. All the goods of the Archbishop were seized by the king's command, and he himself was sent to Calais and thence to the Castle of Hammes, where he lingered in prison till the autumn of 1474, "and the king all this season took the profit of the Archbishoprick." He returned to England after being again pardoned, a broken man, and died a few months later.⁹ After the death of Archbishop Nevill in

⁹ Stratford's *Edward IV*, pp. 210-211.

1474 the See remained vacant for a period, as Bishop Booth of Durham was only appointed to the Archbishopric on September 1, 1476, and during this vacancy the king would enjoy the temporalities. Archbishop Booth died in May, 1480. He was succeeded in the same year by Archbishop Thomas Rotherham, who held the See for the next twenty years until well into the reign of Henry VII.

During all these changes the Archbishop's mint would seem to have been continually active, and we have pennies which appear to belong to every period. Those which from the character of the king's bust must have been struck very soon after the return of Edward IV have the short-cross fitchée pierced as a mint-mark. Others with the lys probably were also struck during the year previous to the imprisonment of Archbishop Nevill. During the time of his deprivation, when the king "took the profit of the Archbishoprick" his emblems G and a key were replaced by an E to the left of the king's bust, and on the right by the curious curled leaf, formerly mistaken for a rose, to which I have previously alluded.

The mint-mark of these pennies is a rose. It is probable that Archbishop Nevill after his pardon and return struck no specially marked coins, and if he continued the working of the mint he may have used the royal dies during the short time that elapsed before his death. Between this event and the appointment of Archbishop Thomas of Rotherham in 1476, the mint would again have been in the king's hands, and there are pennies which from the late character of the bust are evidently attributable to this period. They have the key, denoting the archiepiscopal mint, to the right

of the king's head, and to the left we find the curled leaf emblem, which may readily be mistaken on badly struck specimens for the G of Archbishop Nevill, although the general character of the coins is after his time. I have specimens with a rose mint-mark and also with a cross, but it is uncertain whether the latter is pierced or not. With the accession of Archbishop Rotherham the rose ceases to be used as a York mint-mark, and he appears to have adopted and retained the curled leaf, which, however, has been usually called a rose. The other distinctive feature of all his coins is the letter T to the left of the king's bust. On some a mullet or star is introduced either on the king's breast or to the right of the crown or sometimes in both places. The mint would not appear to have issued so large an amount as previously during the latter part of the reign of Edward IV, as the pennies of both Archbishop Rotherham and the periods of the Royal occupation are not nearly so numerous as those of Archbishop Nevill.

THE CANTERBURY MINT.

Although it has been assumed that both a royal and an ecclesiastical mint continued to be worked at Canterbury during the latter part of the reign of Edward IV, it would appear to be very doubtful whether any coins were struck in that city except at the Archbishop's mint. After the closing of the mints at Bristol and York, the mint accounts state that no money was minted anywhere but at the Tower, and even apart from this evidence it would seem unlikely that, when so much more important provincial mints were definitely closed,

one should have been continued at Canterbury for merely striking a few half-groats and smaller coins. We find half-groats, with the Bouchier knot and other ecclesiastical emblems, which from the character of their details can be identified with the London coins of similar value of every succeeding issue after the return of Edward IV until the cinquefoil was introduced, when the Canterbury half-groats cease without exception to bear the special badge of Cardinal Bouchier, and the mint-mark adopted is a rather large rose for both obverse and reverse. Whether the Archbishop was directed to make less display of his own cognizances or whether he thought it more politic to do so as the king's power became more absolute there is no evidence at present to show, but the contention that these rose-marked half-groats are ecclesiastical is strengthened by the fact that what are evidently the latest *do* bear a rather unobtrusive ecclesiastical emblem in having as an obverse mint-mark a cross fitchée which at first sight seems quite out of place here. It is, however, one of the crosses fitchée that are woven on the archiepiscopal pallium or pall, and has nothing to do with the similar London mint-mark of the earlier part of this reign. These half-groats have the cinquefoil for the reverse mint-mark as used on the London coins, which would only seem to have reached Canterbury quite at the last, as the coins on which it appears are very uncommon. Pennies and also halfpennies are found corresponding with the late rose-marked half-groats, but I have seen no specimen with either the cross fitchée or cinquefoil mint-marks. All coins of this late issue, except those with the cross fitchée, have a α on the king's breast, and some of the half-groats have it in the centre of the cross on the reverse, some are said

to have a rose instead of the A on the obverse or reverse, but it is really the curled leaf emblem, although a distinctly struck specimen is very rarely to be met with. A penny with the Bouchier knot under the bust and no emblems in the field, which I at first attributed to the earlier part of this reign, I now consider to belong to an early post-restoration issue.

THE DURHAM MINT.

Bishop Laurence Booth, who was so high in favour with the king that he was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1473, obtained a charter dated July 21 in that year, by which he and his successors were allowed to coin both pennies and halfpennies, and also to make trussels and standards for the same during the king's pleasure. The grant recites that it had been immemorially the privilege of the Bishop of this See to coin the former but never the latter. Bishop Booth, by his licence dated August 26, the same year that he received his charter, authorizes William Omoryche of York, goldsmith, to grave and print two dozen of trussels and one dozen of standards for pennies, and four standards and eight trussels for halfpennies. Another licence, dated August 4 following, to the same person was to grave and print three dozen of trussels and two dozen of standards for pennies, but no mention is made of halfpennies.¹⁰

On September 1, 1476, Bishop Booth was promoted to the Archbishopric of York, and was succeeded by Bishop Dudley, who, although elected on the 26th of the

¹⁰ Mark Noble, "*On the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal Palatines of Durham*," p. 39.

same month, did not have the temporalities restored to him until October 14, 1477, or more than a year afterwards, during which interval the mint as part of the temporalities would have been in the hands of the king and worked by his deputy. Bishop Dudley, in consequence of the charter granted to Bishop Booth, gave his licence, dated March 21 in the first year of his consecration, to William Omoryche, who is now called of Durham, to make, grave, and print three dozen of trussels and two dozen of standards for pennies, and two dozen of trussels and one dozen of standards for halfpennies within the Castle of Durham.

Bishop Dudley died in 1483, the same year as the king.

What may be considered the earliest type of post-restoration pennies of Durham are apparently from London-made dies; they have B to the left and D to the right of the king's bust, and on the reverse there is a B in the centre of the cross. After Bishop Booth obtained his charter the pennies struck from the dies made by William Omoryche are easily recognized from their different character and inferior workmanship. Those which are probably from the first set of dies ordered have a B to the left of the crown, which latter is varied from all previous examples in having a leaf of five points in the centre instead of the usual fleur-de-lys. A curious object which resembles a V is conspicuous on these coins. It is placed on the obverse in the centre of the king's neck, and on the reverse with the pellets in the second quarter. The only meaning that I can suggest for this peculiar emblem is that it denotes the dies made by William Omoryche, as it occurs on all that are from their workmanship attributable to him,

although it is not clear why he should use this mark, and possibly it had no meaning, and was merely a fancy of his own. Some of the pennies of which we are speaking have a cross at each side of the neck, which would seem to be another mark of the die engraver. Very similar pennies which it may be permissible to attribute to the second set of dies ordered of William Omoryche omit the V on the breast, but retain it in the same position on the reverse, while the two small crosses are now placed above the king's crown instead of at the sides of the neck. On all these pennies of both varieties the mint-mark is a rose, and there is a D in the centre of the cross on the reverse. After the translation of Bishop Booth to York, and during the year which elapsed before the temporalities were restored to Bishop Dudley, the mint would have been in the hands of the king's deputy, and the coins attributable to this period are quite unmistakable owing to their being from London-made dies with the king's bust corresponding in character with the later London pennies, and they are usually better struck than the preceding and succeeding episcopal issues. Apart from their distinctive character their only special mark is a lys at each side of the king's bust. The mint-mark is the curled leaf, and on some there is a D in the centre of the reverse cross, while others are without it. The inferior work of William Omoryche is at once recognizable in the pennies struck for Bishop Dudley; they vary little from those of Bishop Booth save in having a D to the left of the king's neck, and V to the right, while D is continued in the centre of the reverse.

Although Bishop Booth had made four standards and eight trussels for halfpennies, and Bishop Dudley two

dozen trussels and one dozen of standards for the same small coins, only one specimen appears, as far as I can ascertain, to be at present known. It is in the British Museum, and resembles the ordinary light halfpennies on the obverse, while the reverse reads CIVITAS DĒRĀM with D in the centre of the cross. In *Num. Chron.*, N.S. Vol. I. p. 21, Mr. Christmas alludes to one in his collection with a lys each side of the head. This would correspond with the pennies struck during the royal occupancy of the mint, and would prove that halfpennies continued to be struck after Bishop Booth's time until their issue was resumed by his successor.

There is a question in connexion with the coins struck during the episcopate of Bishop Booth that I have not found possible to solve in a satisfactory manner. It has been said that this Bishop behaved so discreetly during the troubled period of his episcopate that he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of both parties, although he was probably at heart a Yorkist. There seems to be no evidence that he was at any time in disgrace with Edward IV, or had his revenues sequestered, yet there are pennies of more than one period presenting the same characteristics as those struck while the king was in possession of the temporalities between the translation of Bishop Booth and their restoration to Bishop Dudley. I refer to the early pennies with the crown mint-mark, and to a later variety on which the bust is quite of the 1471 type. These are some of the coins that gave rise to the assumption that there was a Royal Mint at Durham, which it is now admitted was never the case. I trust, however, that others may be able now or later to clear up the difficulty.

LIST OF COINS.

COINS OF THE LONDON MINT AFTER APRIL, 1471, DURING THE PERIOD WHEN THE SHORT-CROSS FITCHÉE PIERCED AND THE ANNULET WERE IN USE.

GOLD.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced. EDWARD A DI : GR A REX A ANGL A < ^ FRANCI r St. Michael slaying the dragon as on the angels of Henry VI; a cross in the centre of the nimbus of the archangel.

Rev.—No mint-mark. PER CRVSE' TVT' SALVT NOS XPC' REDI' TOR Ship with shield of arms and cross above all as on angels of Henry VI, but an E to the l. and a rose to the r. of the cross. [Pl. XXI. 2.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet (to l. of angel's head). Legend as No. 1, but DEI instead of DI; trefoil stops.

Rev.—No mint-mark. All as No. 1, but REDIEMTOR trefoil stops between words. F. A. W.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet (to r. of angel's head). All as No. 1, but reads FRANCIÆ trefoil stops.

Rev.—No mint-mark. Legend, &c., as No. 1, but CRVSEM; saltire stops. F. A. W.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet to r.; legend as No. 1, but DEI; trefoil stops; trefoil in centre of nimbus of St. Michael.

Rev.—No mint-mark. Legend as No. 1; trefoil stops. F. A. W.

5. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet to r. Legend as No. 1; no cross or trefoil in nimbus of St. Michael.

Rev.—No mint-mark. Legend as No. 1, but REDITO' F. A. W.

6. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. All as last, but D&I

Rev.—Legend as No. 1. [Pl. XXI. 5.] British Museum.

Half-angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced. O
CRVX ⁂ ΠVΘ ⁂ SPΘS ⁂ V ⁂ ΝΙΘΠ × Usual
obverse type of the archangel Michael pierc-
ing the dragon.

Rev.—No mint-mark. ΕDWARD DI ΓΡΑ' ΡΕΧ
ΠΝΓΛ' ⋈ FRΠ Usual reverse type of ship
with Ε and rose at sides of mast.

[Pl. XXI. 4.] British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. ΕDWARD DI ΓΡΑ ΡΕΧ
ΠΝΓΛ' Usual obverse type.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet and rose side by side. O
CRVX ΠVΘ ⁂ SPΘS ⁂ VΝΙΘΠ ⁂ Usual
reverse type. British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. ΕDWARD ⁂ DI ⁂ ΓΡΑ ⁂
ΡΕΧ ⁂ ΠΝΓΛ ⁂ Usual obverse type; cross
in nimbus of angel.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet. O CRVX ⁂ ΠVΘ ⁂ SPΘS
⊗ VΝΙΘΠ ⁂ ⊗ Rose after SPΘS and
VΝΙΘΠ; usual reverse type. F. A. W.

SILVER.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark large annulet. ΕDWARD DI ○
ΓΡΑ ΡΕΧ ○ ΠΝΓΛ ⋈ FRΠΘ Annulet
stop after DI and ΡΕΧ; bust exactly as on
restoration groats of Henry VI.

Rev.—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced. POSVI
D&VΝ ⁂ ΠDIVTOΡ& Μ&VΝ CIVIT&S
LONDON The same B-like R's as on restora-
tion groats of Henry VI. [Pl. XXI. 3.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced; usual legend and type.

Rev.—Large trefoil; usual legends and type.
L. A. Lawrence Collection.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark large annulet. EDWARD' ° DI
GRX ° REX ° RINGL' ° S ° FRING An-
nulet stop after all words except DI and
FRING; all cusps of tressure fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark large trefoil; legends as No. 1; no
stops; usual cross and pellets. F. A. W.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark smaller annulet; legend as No. 1,
but saltire stops; all cusps of tressure fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark large trefoil; usual legends; trefoil
after DEVSQ F. A. W.

5. *Obv.*—Mint-mark smaller annulet; legend as No. 1;
saltire stops; cusps of tressure above crown
not fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark smaller annulet; usual legends; no
stops.

6. *Obv.*—Mint-mark smaller annulet; legends as No. 1;
trefoil stops.

Rev.—Mint-mark smaller annulet; usual legends;
saltire stops. [Pl. XXI. 7.]

7. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet; usual legends and type;
saltire stops; all cusps of tressure fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet; usual
legends; no stops. [Pl. XXI. 8.] F. A. W.

Half-groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. EDWARD' × DI × GRX
REX × RINGL' S FR Saltire stops; similar
bust to Henry VI restoration half-groats;
cusps of tressure above crown not fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet. POSVI DEVSQ RDIV-
TORE MÆVM CIVITAS LONDON Pellets
united as trefoils. [Pl. XXI. 10.] F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet; legend as No. 1, arch on breast plain.

Rev.—Mint-mark rose; usual type and legends.
L. A. Lawrence Collection.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet; legend as No. 1; all cusps of tressure fleured.

Rev.—No mint-mark; usual legends; pellets trefoil-wise.
W. M. Maish.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. EDWARD DI GRA REX
ANGL

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Usual cross and pellets
(not united). F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Short cross fitchée pierced; "restoration" type of bust; legend as No. 1.

Rev.—No mint-mark; usual type. CIVITAS LONDON

Half-penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark annulet. EDWARD DI GRA REX

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Pellets united as trefoils.
F. A. W.

COINS FROM THE LONDON MINT WHILE THE ANNULET ENCLOSING PELLET WAS USED AS A MINT-MARK.

GOLD.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. EDWARD DEI GRA
REX ANGL S FRANC Usual type
for angels.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. PER
GRVCM TVR SALVR ROS XPI
REDEMPT Usual type; E to r. of cross
and to l. rose punched over a sun.

[PL XXII. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD x DEI x GR x REX x ANGL x S x FRANCO x Usual obverse type.

Rev.—Annulet enclosing pellet. PAR CRVCEM TVN SALVN NOS XPC REDEMPT Saltire stops; usual reverse type; A to l. and sun to r. of mast.

Montagu Collection, lot 593.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet; legend as No. 1; angel rather shorter and somewhat different to usual character; saltire stops.

Rev.—No mint-mark. PAR CRVCE TVN SALVN x NOS XPC REDEMTO A to l., rose to r. of cross.
F. A. W.

Half-angel. None discovered or recorded.

SILVER.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD' DEI x GR x REX x ANGL' S x FRANCO Larger bust with more bushy hair; rose in field each side of bust. All cusps of tressure fleured with trefoils of pellets rather larger than on last issue.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet; usual type and legends; saltire stop. [Pl. XXI. 9.] The R's in the legends cease to resemble B's and return to the usual form.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD' x DEI x GR x REX x ANGL' S x FRANCO x All arches of tressure fleured; same bust as last; no roses in the field.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet; usual reverse type and legends.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD DI GR x REX x ANGL' S x FRANCO x S x.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet; usual legends and type.

Half-groat.

Obv.—Annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD DEI
GRX REX ANGL & FRX Peculiar bust;
no emblems or marks; cusps of tressure
above crown, and on breast not fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark rose. POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE
MEVM—DIVITAS LONDON Usual type;
pellets united as trefoils. [Pl. XXI. 11.]
F. A. W.

Penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD
DEI GRX REX ANGL Bust correspond-
ing with larger pieces.

Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON Usual cross and pellets.
W. T. Ready.

Half-penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark annulet enclosing pellet. EDWARD
DI GRX REX

Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON Pellets united as trefoils.
F. A. W.

THE CROSS AND FOUR PELLETS MINT-MARK.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle.
EDWARD' x DEI x GRX' x REX x ANGL'
x FRX x Large trefoil at end of
legend. St. Michael and the dragon as
before; no cross in nimbus.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle.
PER CRUCEM TVR' SALVT NOS XPE'
REDEMPT Type as usual. [Pl. XXII. 3.]

2. *Obv.*—All as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark plain cross pierced; legend and type
as before.

Half-angel. None discovered so far.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle. EDWARD' DEI x GR' x REX x ANGL' x FRANC' x Large trefoils of pellets or fleurs to all cusps of the tressure; bust varying from the last type, more bushy hair and crown larger and higher; the A in ANGL has now for the first time a V-shaped bar.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle; usual legends and type. The A in TAS has the V-shaped bar for the first time.

[Pl. XXII. 4.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle; portrait and legends as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark plain cross pierced; legends and type as usual.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross with pellet in each angle; legend and type as No. 1, with barred A in ANGL

Rev.—Mint-mark cross punched over annulet (and pellet?) usual legends and type, but no barred A in TAS

Half-groats. None have been so far discovered.

Pennies or halfpennies are still unknown.

THE CROSS PIERCED MINT-MARK (FIRST VARIETY).


Angel.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD' x DEI x GR' x REX x ANGL x FRANC' x Usual type.


Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced. PER CRUCEM TVT SALVT NOS XPI REDEMPT Usual reverse type. A. H. Baldwin.

Half-angel.

Obv.—Cross punched over annulet (and pellet?).
 EDWARD DEI GRAT REX ANGLA Usual
 type.

Rev.—Cross over annulet (and pellet?). \times O \times CRVX
 TVE  SPES \times VNICTA \times Usual reverse
 type. British Museum.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark plain cross pierced. EDWARD
 DEI \times GRAT \times REX \times ANGL' \times  FRANO
 Bust very similar to the last issue; trefoil
 terminals to all points of tressure.

Rev.—Mint-mark plain cross pierced; usual legends
 and type; barred A in TAS.

[Pl. XXII. 5.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark plain cross pierced; legend as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark pierced cross with pellet in first
 quarter; usual legends as last.

Half-groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark pierced cross over annulet (and
 pellet?). EDWARD DEI GRAT REX ANGL
 \times FRANO Bust corresponding with groat;
 all cusps of tressure fleured with trefoils of
 pellets.

Rev.—Mint-mark pierced cross with pellet in fourth
 quarter; usual legend and type; pellets tre-
 foilwise.

[Pl. XXII. 7.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross over annulet (and pellet?);
 legend as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross over annulet (and pellet?);
 usual legend and type; pellets trefoilwise.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross over annulet (and pellet).
 EDWARD DEI GRAT REX ANGLA This
 obverse is from the same die as the penny
 previously described under the annulet and

pellet issue before the cross had been punched over the original mint-mark. Guided mainly by this penny, I have ascribed all coins from dies showing the cross punched over the annulet to having been struck from dies originally belonging to the annulet and pellet issue, to which their other characteristics also locate them.

Rev.—No mint-mark. CIVITAS LONDON Usual design ; pellets not united. [Pl. XXI. 12.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark plain cross (pierced?). EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL' Large bust with bushy hair.

Rev.—No mint-mark. CIVITAS LONDON Pellets not united. F. A. W.

Halfpenny.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD DEI GRA REX

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Usual type ; pellets trefoilwise. F. A. W.

THE PIERCED CROSS AND ONE PELLET ISSUE.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD DEI GRA × REX × ANGL' < FRANC Usual obverse type.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced with pellet in fourth quarter. PARCIVALEM × TVR × SALVA × NOS × XPI × REDEMPT Usual reverse type.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced pellet in third quarter ; legend as last, but reads DI ; usual obverse type.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third quarter ; legend as No. 1 ; usual reverse type.

Half-angel.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third quarter. $\text{EDWARD} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GER} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL}$ Usual obverse type.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth quarter. $\times \text{O} \times \text{CRVX} \times \text{AV} \otimes \text{SPES} \times \text{VNICT} \times$ Usual reverse type; rose after AV , sun after VNICT . [Pl. XXII. 9.]

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth quarter. $\text{EDWARD} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GER} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANC}$ Large bust, with full bushy hair; cusps of tressure, except those above crown and on breast, fleured with large three-leaved terminals.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth quarter. $\text{POSVI} \times \text{D} \times \text{AVN} \times \text{ADIVTORE} \times \text{M} \times \text{AVN}$ —CIVITAS LONDON Usual cross and pellets. [Pl. XXII. 11.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth quarter; legends and type as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third quarter; rose after $\text{D} \times \text{AVN}$

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third quarter; legend and type as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth quarter.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark as last; legend and type as before.

Rev.—Mint-mark as last; rose after $\text{D} \times \text{AVN}$, sun after ADIVTORE

5. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced; pellet in third quarter.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced; pellet in fourth quarter; sun after $\text{D} \times \text{AVN}$

Half-groat.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third quarter. EDWARD' x DI x GR' x REX x
ANGL x FR' x Large pellet trefoils as
cusps to tressure; no fleurs on breast or
above crown.

Rev.—Cross punched over annulet (and pellet?).
POSVI DEVM ADIVTORI MEVM—
CIVITAS LONDON Pellets trefoilwise.
[Pl. XXII. 6.] F. A. W.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in fourth
quarter. EDWARD' DEI GR' REX ANGL
Late type of bust, with larger face and less
bushy hair.

Rev.—No mint-mark. CIVITAS LONDON Usual
type. F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third
quarter; legend as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced. CIVITAS LONDON.
[Pl. XXII. 12.]

Halfpenny.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced, with pellet in third
quarter. EDWARD DEI GR' REX

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Pellets trefoilwise.
F. A. W.

THE PIERCED CROSS MINT-MARK (SECOND TYPE).

Angel.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD x DI x
GR' x REX x ANGL x x FR' x Usual
type.

Rev.—No mint-mark. PER x ARVDEM x TVT x
SALVT x NOS x XPC REDEMPT Usual
reverse type. British Museum.

On account of the reading DI this is placed here, but

with the gold there is not the same difference of character as with the silver by which to distinguish the second from the first variety of this mint-mark.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD DI GRÆ
RÆX ANGL & FRANK Large bust with
bushy hair; large three-leaved fleurs to cusps
of tressure; none on bust.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced; usual legends and
type; rose after DEVS

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced; legend as last, and
bust of similar character with a pellet each
side in the field; cusps above crown and on
breast not fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark cross pierced; usual legends; rose
after RDIVTORÆ; small extra pellet in
second and fourth quarters.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pierced of rather pattée form,
with pellet in centre of sinking; legend as
No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark pierced cross; usual legends; rose
after RDIVTORÆ; extra pellet in second and
fourth quarters. H. B. Earle Fox.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark pierced cross pattée with pellet in
centre; legend and bust as No. 1; no fleurs
above crown or on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark pierced cross pattée with pellet in
centre; usual legends; rose after DEVS;
usual type; no extra pellet in quarters of
cross. H. B. Earle Fox.

Half-groats and pennies have not so far been noted, but as
the half-penny is known, they may probably
be looked for.

Half-penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark cross pierced. EDWARD DEI GR
RÆX Pellet each side of bust.

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Usual type.
[Pl. XXII. 8.] F. A. W.

THE CINQUEFOIL MINT-MARK.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. EDWARD' ×
DEI × GR' × RÆX × ANGL' × < FRANO ×
Usual obverse type.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. PÆR
CRVCEM × TVT' × SALVT × NOS × XPC ×
RÆDÆMPT Usual reverse type.
[Pl. XXIII. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—All as last.

Rev.—As last, but RÆDÆMP

3. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—As No. 1, but RÆDÆMT

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil ; legend as No. 1 ;
saltire stops.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. PÆ CRVCEM
TVT SALVT NS RÆDÆMPT No stops.
Montagu Collection, No. 596.

Half-angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil over cross pierced.
EDWARD × DI × GR × RÆX × ANGL'
Usual type.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil over cross pierced.
× O CRVX × TVÆ ⊗ SPÆS × VRICT ⊗ ×
Rose after TVÆ and VRICT ; usual reverse
type. F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil ; legend and type
as No. 1.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil ; legend and type
as last ; rose after CRVX and SPÆS
Montagu Collection, No. 600.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. EDWARD DEI
GRAT REX ANGL & FRANC Rose after
ANGL; rose (or curled leaf) on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; usual legends;
rose after DEVM

N.B.—On the groats of this issue the “roses” on the breast and in legends appear to be the curled leaf and not regular roses as on previous issues.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; legend as No. 1,
but all A's with V-shaped bars; rose or
curled leaf on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; usual legends,
with all A's barred; rose after DEVM

3. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—All as last, but A's barred only in
ANGL and TAS [Pl. XXIII. 2.]

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil, with pellet to l.;
all cusps of tressure fleured; “rose” on
breast; late type of bust like Richard III.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil, with pellet to l.;
usual legend; curled leaf after POSVI and
ADIVTORÆ; small extra pellet in centre of
group in first quarter.

5. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—As No. 1, but no roses or suns in
legends.

Half-groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. EDWARD
DEI GRAT REX ANGL & FRAN Bust with
long and outstanding hair.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; usual legends
and type. F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; legend as last, but different type of bust with fuller face, short neck, and smaller hair; all cusps of tressure fleured except that on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil; legends as last; pellets trefoilwise. [Pl. XXIII. 3.]
British Museum.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL. Bust with long hair and large crown.

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Usual type.

2. *Obv. and Rev.*—All as last, but different bust, similar to that on No. 2 half-groat.
[Pl. XXIII. 4.] British Museum.

Halfpennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil. EDWARD DEI GRA REX Usual type.

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON Pellets trefoilwise.

2. Same as last, but reads DI

THE PROVINCIAL ROYAL MINTS.

COINS STRUCK AT BRISTOL FROM MAY, 1471, TO JULY, 1472.

Angels.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet, with small trefoil in centre. EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL. & FRANCI Trefoil in centre of the archangel's nimbus and at each side of the cross in his hand.


Rev.—No mint-mark. PER Y GRVSE' A TVT SALVT' NOS Y XPC'Y R&D&TOR' Usual reverse type, with & and rose at sides of ship's mast; B in the waves beneath.

Evans Collection.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet; legend as last; no stops, but the trefoils after $\text{FR}\Lambda\text{N}\text{C}$ Trefoil in archangel's nimbus.

Rev.—No mint-mark; legend as last; two trefoils after PER and one after $\text{C}\text{R}\text{V}\text{S}\text{E}$, $\text{S}\text{A}\text{L}\text{V}\text{E}$, NOS , and XPC . [Pl. XXIII. 5.]
British Museum, from the Cuff Collection.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose. $\text{E}\text{D}\text{W}\text{A}\text{R}\text{D}'\text{DI}\text{ } \nabla \text{GR}\text{A}'\text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \nabla$
 $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}$  $\text{FR}\Lambda\text{N}\text{C}$ Bust of the restoration type; B on breast; no emblems in the field; tressure fleured with small trefoils; no fleurs above crown.

Rev.—Mint-mark rose. $\text{POS}\text{VI}\text{ } \text{D}\text{E}\text{V}\text{M} \times \text{A}\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{T}\text{O}\text{R}\text{E}$
 $\text{M}\text{E}\text{V}\text{M} - \times \text{VILL}\text{A} \times \text{BRISTOW} -$ The V in Villa has been a W of which the first part has been obliterated by punching two saltire stops over it. [Pl. XXIII. 6, 7.]

The reverse of this coin is from the same die as the groat of Henry VI reading $\text{H}\text{E}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{U}\text{S}$ Both coins are shown on the plate for comparison. F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose; legend and other details as No. 1; B on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet; usual outer legend. VILLA
 BRISTOW F. A. W.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark sun; legend, &c., as No. 1; B on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet; usual outer legend. VILLA
 BRISTOW F. A. W.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet; legend, &c., as No. 1; cusps over crown fleured; B on breast; trefoil stops.

Rev.—Mint-mark annulet; usual outer legend; trefoil stop after $\text{D}\text{E}\text{V}\text{M} - \text{VILL}\text{A} \nabla \text{BRISTOW}$
[Pl. XXIII. 9.]

5. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet, all as last ; trefoil stop.

Rev.—No mint-mark ; usual outer legend ; no stops.
VILLÆ BRISTOW [Pl. XXIII. 8.]

Half-groat.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD ꝛ DI GRÆ REX
ANGL ꝛ FRÆ B on breast ; no emblems
in field.

Rev.—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced. POSVI
DÆVM ꝛ DIVTORE MÆVM — VILLÆ
BRISTOW Pellets trefoilwise.
[Pl. XXIII. 10.] British Museum.

COINS STRUCK AT YORK FROM APRIL TO SEPTEMBER, 1471.

Gold.

No angels or angelets have so far been discovered,
although a certain amount of gold *was* coined
at the York Mint during this period.

Silver.

Groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark lys. EDWARD DI GRÆ ꝛ REX
ANGL ꝛ FRÆ ANGL Æ on breast ; no em-
blems in field. Small trefoil fleurs to cusps
of tressure ; bust of the period of the restora-
tion.

Rev.—Mint-mark lys. POSVI DÆVM ꝛ DIVTORE
MÆVM CIVITAS EBORACI
[Pl. XXIV. 1.]

N.B.—Both sides have the B-like R's of
this period.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark lys ; legend, &c., as last, but saltire
stops after all words but DI and FRÆ ANGL ;
no emblems in field.

Rev.—All as last.

Half-groat.

Obv.—Mint-mark lys. EDWARD' DI × GRÆ × RÆX
 ANGL < FRÆN No E on breast; all cusps
 of tressure fleured with small trefoils except
 those above crown; no emblems in field.

Rev.—Mint-mark lys. POSVI DEVM ADIVTORÆ'
 MÆVM - CIVITAS EBORACI Pellets
 separate. [Pl. XXIV. 2.] F. A. W.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark lys. EDWARD DI GRÆ RÆX
 ANGL Bust of the restoration period; no
 emblems in field.

Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI Cross with quatrefoil
 in centre, and usual pellets in angles.
 H. B. Earle Fox.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark annulet. EDWARD DI GRÆ
 RÆX ANGL "Restoration" type of bust;
 no emblems in field.

Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI Cross with quatrefoil
 in centre and usual pellets not found.
 [Pl. XXIV. 3.] F. A. W.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD DI GRÆ RÆX
 ANGL Bust of late character, with rose on
 breast.

Rev.—Cross with quatrefoil in centre and usual pellets.
 CIVITAS EBORACI

This last may be a *sede vacante* coin of
 later date.

In the first portion of this reign (*Num. Chron.*, Fourth
 Series, Vol. IX. p. 175) reasons are given for the assump-
 tion that the quatrefoil in the centre of the cross, although
 originally a mark of the archiepiscopal mint, had by this
 time become so identified with the York pennies that it
 was used on these coins from both mints. It is found
 on pennies of Richard III without the archiepiscopal

emblems, which there can be no doubt are from the Royal Mint.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL MINTS.

YORK.

Archbishop Nevill, 1471 (all pennies).

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark short cross fitchée pierced.
 EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGE "Restoration"
 " type of bust; G to the l. and key to the r. in the field.

Rev.—DIVITAS EBORACI Cross with quatrefoil in centre and usual pellets in angle.

N.B.—Other specimens read ANGE on the obverse.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose, reads ANGE'; "restoration" bust; G and key in field.

Rev.—All as last.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark lys; legend, &c., as No. 1.

Rev.—As No. 1.

During the Sequestration of Archbishop Nevill's Temporalities.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose; legend as before. ANGE—G to the l., and curled leaf to the r. in field.

Rev.—All exactly as previous pennies, with quatrefoil in centre of cross.

Sede Vacante Pennies after the Death of Archbishop Nevill.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross; bust of later character; curled leaf to the l. and key to the r. in field.

Rev.—All as on previous pennies.

2. All as last, but mint-mark rose.

Archbishop Laurence Booth, 1476-1480.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose; legend as before; B to the l. and key to the r. of bust.

Rev.—All as previous pennies.

Archbishop Thomas of Rotherham, 1480.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark curled leaf. EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL T to the l. and key to the r. of bust in field.

Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI Usual type, with quatrefoil in centre of cross.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark curled leaf; legend ends ANGL T and key in field; star or mullet on breast.

Rev.—All as last.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark and legend, &c., as last, but star or mullet on breast and to r. of crown in field.

Rev.—All as before.

THE CANTERBURY MINT.

Coins with the "Restoration" Type of Bust and other details.

Half-groat.

Obv.—Mint-mark archiepiscopal pall and cross (the arms of the See). EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL < FRAN Bust characteristic of this period, with Bourchier knot on breast; no emblems; in field, tressure fleured with small pellet trefoils, none above crown.

Rev.—Mint-mark pall and cross. POSVI DEVM ADIVTORÆ MEVM - CIVITAS CANTOR Usual cross and pellets; stalk from inner beaded circle to centre of group in first quarter.

F. A. W.

Coins with Bust and Characteristics of the London Coins, with the Pierced-Cross and Cross-and-Pellet Mint-marks.

Half-groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark pall. EDWARD DI GRA REX
ANGL & FRANK Bust with large crown and
full hair, with Bouchier knot beneath; no
emblems in field; cusp of tressure fleured,
with large three-leaved terminals, none over
crown.

Rev.—No mint-mark; usual outer legend. CIVITAS
CANTOR Stalk from inner circle to group
of pellets in second quarter.

[Pl. XXIV. 6.]

2. All as last, but on rev. stalk in first group of pellets
which are all trefoilwise.

Penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark pall. Similar bust to that on
half-groats, with Bouchier knot beneath.
EDWARD DI GRA REX AN

Rev.—CIVITAS CANTOR Usual cross and pellets
(which are not united), with stalk to group
in second quarter.

[Pl. XXIV. 7.] F. A. W.

Coins corresponding in character of details with the Half-groats and Pennies from the Tower Mint, while the Cross Pierced and Pellet, and the Cinquefoil Mint-marks were in Use.

Half-groats.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark large rose. EDWARD'x DI GRA x
REX x ANGL x & FRANK Bust characteristic
of the period; C on breast; all cusps of tres-
sure fleured with small trefoils.

Rev.—Mint-mark large rose. POSVI DEVM x
ADIVTOR'x M'VM Cross and pellets
(trefoilwise), but no stalk in any quarter;
C in centre of the cross. [Pl. XXIV. 8.]

2. All as No. 1, but no fleurs to cusps of tressure.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark large rose ; legend as No. 1, but ΕΡΑΝ Curled leaf on breast ; all cusps of tressure fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark large rose ; legends as No. 1 ; nothing in centre of cross ; pellets trefoilwise ; no stalk.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark curled leaf ; legend as No. 1. Α on breast ; cusps above crown not fleured.

Rev.—Mint-mark large rose ; legends as No. 1 ; nothing in centre of cross ; pellets trefoilwise.

5. *Obv.*—Mint-mark large rose ; legend and bust as No. 1. Α on breast ; no fleurs to cusps of tressure.

Rev.—Mint-mark large rose ; legends, &c., as No. 1. Curled leaf in centre of cross ; pellets trefoilwise.
W. M. Maish.

6. *Obv. and Rev.*—Mint-mark curled leaf ; Α on breast. Cusps of tressure fleured except over crown ; legends as No. 1.

7. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross fitchée ; same bust and characteristics as previous half-groats ; no fleurs to tressure ; no letter or emblem on breast.

Rev.—Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil ; legends as No. 1 ; nothing in centre of cross ; pellets trefoilwise.

Pennies.

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose (or curled leaf). ΕΔΩΑΡΔ ΔΕΙ ΓΡΑ REX ANGL Bust as on late London pennies ; no emblems in field or knot under bust.

Rev.—CIVITAS CANTOR Usual cross and pellets.
British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark curled leaf (in form of rose) ; legend as last ; late bust with short close hair ; Α on breast.

Rev.—CIVITAS CANTOR Usual type. F. A. W.

Halfpenny.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose (or curled leaf). EDWARD
DEI GRA REX Usual bust of the period,
with C on breast.

Rev.—CIVITAS ANTON Pellets trefoilwise.
F. A. W.

THE DURHAM MINT.

Between April, 1471, and August, 1473.

Penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD DEI GRA REX
ANGL Bust of the restoration period. B to
the l. and D to the r. in the field.

Rev.—CIVITAS X DERRM B in centre of cross.

These coins appear to be from London-made dies.

*The Coins struck by Bishop Booth after obtaining his Charter
in July, 1473.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD DEI GRA REX
AN^x Bust with high crown having the
centre ornament more elaborate than the
usual fleur-de-lys. B to the l. of crown and
V on breast.

Rev.—CIVITAS DVROLME D in centre of the
cross; small extra pellet in centre of the
usual group in each quarter; V in top corner
of second quarter. [Pl. XXIV. 9.]

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose; legend and other details all
as No. 1, but saltire cross at each side of
neck.

Rev.—All as No. 1.

3. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD × DI × GRÆ REX
 ΠΝ6L Bust of same character, but centre
 crown ornament a fleur-de-lys; two small
 crosses above crown; no emblems on letters
 in field or on breast.

Rev.—All as No. 1, with V in second quarter.

4. *Obv.*—Mint-mark rose (?); legend and other details
 all as last, but cross or quatrefoil on king's
 breast.

Rev.—All as before, but additional pellet only in fourth
 quarter.

N.B.—All the above four coins are from the locally
 made dies of William Omoryche.

*Sede Vacante Pennies struck after the Translation of Bishop
 Booth to York in 1476, and before the Temporalities were
 restored to his Successor, Bishop Dudley, in October, 1477.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint-mark curled leaf. EDWARD DI GRÆ
 REX ΠΝ6 Bust similar to that on the late
 London pennies, with lys at each side in the
 field.

Rev.—CIVITAS DÆRΛΩ D in centre of cross.
 [Pl. XXIV. 10.] F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—Mint-mark (?); legend as last, ending ΠΝ6L;
 bust of apparently rather earlier character;
 lys on each side in field.

Rev.—CIVITAS DÆRΛΩ No D in centre of cross.
 F. A. W.

N.B.—These coins are from London-made dies.

Pennies of Bishop Dudley, between 1477 and 1483.

- Obv.*—Mint-mark rose. EDWARD DI GRÆ REX
 ΠΝ6 Bust of the king, having D to the l.
 and V to the r. in the field.

THE COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV. 377

Rev.—CIVITAS DERAM D in centre of the cross
and V in second quarter.

N.B.—These coins are practically always badly struck from rudely executed dies, presumably of William Omoryche.

Half-penny.

Obv.—Mint-mark rose (?). EDW
No marks visible in field or on breast.

Rev.—CIVITAS DE x RAM D in centre of cross.
[Pl. XXIV. 11.] British Museum.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DADIA HOARD OF COINS OF KNIDOS.

SINCE I wrote the note on coins of Knidos which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911, p. 197, a number of other specimens from the same hoard, which appears to have been found at Dadia in the Knidian Chersonese, have come into my hands; and a general account of this series of Knidian coins, describing examples from this hoard and elsewhere, has been published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in *Num. Zeitschr.*, xlv. (1912), pp. 193ff. As the hoard has now been dispersed far and wide, there seems little chance that any summary of its contents as a whole can ever be compiled; but it may be worth while to place on record such facts as have emerged from my examination.

The hoard would appear to have consisted mainly, if not entirely, of the two small denominations mentioned in my previous note—hemidrachms (or possibly diobols) with types *obv.* head of Aphrodite r., *rev.* head of bull, and tetrobols with types *obv.* bust of Artemis r., *rev.* tripod. Other coins, of Knidos and elsewhere, have been offered for sale with these, but I have not had any satisfactory evidence that they came from the same hoard, although they may have done so. The tetrobols form much the larger proportion of the coins from the hoard which I have seen, and are on the average in fresher condition than the hemidrachms; this fact, together with considerations of style, would seem to suggest that the series of tetrobols was later in date of issue. The magistrates' names on the two series are distinct.

In the hemidrachms some coins have on the reverse a bull's head to front only, but usually on the left of the head a portion of the neck is shown. These variations do not appear to mark any distinction of issue; but the coins of this denomination may be divided into two classes on other grounds. The first class is formed by the coins of the magistrates

Epikrates and Epiphanes ; in these there is no border of dots on the obverse, and on the reverse the magistrate's name begins on the right of the bull's head and curves underneath it, reading inwards. In the second class there is a border of dots on the obverse, and on the reverse the name begins on the left, reading outwards, and usually curving under the head ; this class includes the coins of Agesikles, Antipatros, Mnasi-theos, and Sostratos. The specimens of the first class are the more worn, and presumably earlier in date. In both classes the ethnic on the reverse is above the bull's head ; there is a third class, with generally similar types, but on the reverse the ethnic to the left of the head and the magistrate's name to the right, no examples of which seem to have occurred in the Dadia hoard. The die-position is normally $\uparrow\searrow$: this position is so regular that it looks as if it were due to design ; the only coin with the die-position $\uparrow\uparrow$ which I have noted is one of Sostratos.

The following summary gives the respective dies used in the specimens which I have had (omitting those magistrates of whom there was only one example), and the weights of those coins which were not given in my previous note. The dies are lettered in capitals for obverses, in small letters for reverses, separately for each magistrate ; the weights are in grammes.

AGESIKLES.

Dies.—Aa, Ab, Ac, Ad, Be, Bf, Bg, Bh, Ci, Ci, Dk, Ek, Fl, Gm, Hn, Io.

Weights.—1.32, 1.08, 1.30, 0.81 (worn), 1.15, 1.23, 1.20, 1.21, 1.01, 1.17, 1.04, 1.16, 0.97 (worn), 0.90 (worn), 1.14.

EPIKRATES.

Weight.—0.93 (worn).

EPIPHANES.

Dies.—Aa, Aa, Ab.

Weights.—0.99 (worn), 0.84 (worn), 1.32.

MNASITHEOS.

Dies.—Aa, Ab, Bc.

Weights.—1.15, 1.18.

The tetrobols can be more satisfactorily grouped than the hemidrachms, partly on account of the large number of examples available ; the die connexions give some clues to the chronological order of the issuing magistrates, and considerations of style help in the arrangement.

The coins of Kallippos are far superior in style to any others in this series, and on this account may perhaps be placed earliest.

Next to them in respect of style comes a group including the issues of Agias, Aristokleidas, Epigenes, Kleumbrotos, Kydosthenes, and Moirichos, all of whose obverse dies are so similar in workmanship as to suggest that they are from the same hand. Four of these magistrates can be placed in chronological order. Moirichos and Kleumbrotos used the same obverse die, the coins of Moirichos being apparently the earlier struck; and another obverse die served for coins of Kleumbrotos, Aristokleidas, and Agias, probably in this succession. The position of Epigenes and Kydosthenes in the group is uncertain.

Theuteles and Hippokrates form the next group; they had one obverse die in common, the coin of Theuteles being from a fresher state of the die. The style is distinctly poorer than that of the two preceding groups, but has a point of similarity with them in the fact that behind the shoulder of Artemis on the obverse there are shown a bow and quiver; on the coins of the next two groups only a quiver is visible.

Aristiadas and Diokles may be classed together by the style of their obverse dies, which look as if they were by the same artist; but there is no evidence at present to show which was the earlier of the two.

The last group comprises the coins of Epigonos, Epion, Eutherses, Telesippos, and Philokles, whose obverse dies are closely similar in their workmanship, which is very weak. Only Philokles and Eutherses can be connected by their use of the same dies, but their connexion is very clear; Eutherses employed not only an obverse die from which coins of Philokles were struck, but also a reverse die on which his name is cut, retrograde, over that of Philokles.

If an examination could be made of all the coins from the hoard, probably further die-connexions could be established; but, as they have been scattered to various parts of Europe, this is impracticable at present. It may be noted that, of the magistrates known to have struck tetrobols of this type, Exakestes, Euphron, Karneiskos, Kydokles, and Sosigenes were not, so far as I am aware, represented by any specimens in the hoard, and may have been in office later than the date of its burial.

The die-position in this series is regularly ↑↑.

There follows a summary of dies and weights of tetrobols on the same lines as in the case of the hemidrachms.

AGIAS.

Dies.—Aa, Bb. [A = Aristokleidas and Kleumbrotos B.]

Weight.—2·32.

ARISTIADAS.

Dies.—(Name in two lines) Aa, Bb, Bc; (name in one line) Bd, Be, Be, Bf, Bg.

Weights.—2·27, 1·19, 2·25, 2·46, 2·84, 1·89 (worn), 2·42.

EPIGENES.

Dies.—Aa, Ab, Ac, Bd, Be, Cf, Dg.

Weights.—2·17, 2·25, 2·39, 2·84, 2·15, 2·41, 2·46.

EPIGONOS.

Dies.—Aa, Ab, Ab.

Weights.—2·13, 2·31.

EPION.

Dies.—Aa, Aa, Aa, Ab, Ac, Bd.

Weights.—2·40, 2·13, 2·22, 2·45, 2·27.

EUTHERSES.

Weight.—2·50.

THEUTELES.

Dies.—Aa, Bb. [A = Hippokrates A.]

HIPPOKRATES.

Dies.—Aa, Ab. [A = Theuteles A.]

Weight.—2·29.

KLEUMBROTOS.

Dies.—Aa, Bb, Bc. [A = Moirichos; B = Agias A and Aristokleidas.]

Weight.—2·51.

KYDOSTHENES.

Weight.—2·47.

MOIRICHOS.

Weight.—2·14.

TELESIPPOS.

Dies.—Aa, Ab.

Weight.—2·44.

PHILOKLES.

Dies.—Aa, Aa, Ab, Ac, Ad, Be, Bf, Bf. [B = Eutherses.]

Weights.—2·20, 2·25, 2·32, 1·96, 2·24, 2·38, 2·11.

CARSPHAIRN FIND. (COINS OF EDWARD I AND II.)

A LARGE hoard of pennies of Edward I and II recently discovered at Carsphairn in Galloway corresponds so closely with the Blackhills hoard (described by Dr. G. Macdonald in *Num. Chron.*, 1913, pp. 57, ff.) that a detailed description of it could add nothing to the knowledge acquired from the Blackhills find. It contained pennies of all classes from *ED REX* to Dr. Macdonald's Group XXIX., and in this latter group there were sixteen coins of Durham with the mint-mark of Bishop Beaumont (1317-1333). The date of the deposit must therefore be approximately the same as that of Blackhills, *circa* 1320. There were also a few Scottish (Alexander III and Robert Bruce) and Irish (Edward) pennies, and Continental sterlings of Alost (Robert de Béthune, 1305-1322), Yvoy (Gaucher de Châtillon, 1303-1329), Serain (Valéran II, 1316-1354), Valenciennes (Jean II d'Avesnes, 1280-1304), Aix-la-Chapelle (Louis de Bavière, 1313-1347), Cambrai (Guillaume de Hainault, 1292-1296); all these are compatible with the date 1320 for the deposit of the hoard. There were also four sterlings of Toul attributed to Thomas de Bourlémont (1330-1353) and three Anglo-Gallic sterlings attributed to Edward III.

Of the four sterlings of Toul three were of the type of Chautard, No. 196, reading *EQ MONETA NOSTRA* (bust facing crowned) and *TOLLO CIVITAS* (three pellets in each angle of cross), the fourth being No. 197, *LVNTOLLENGIAN*. In his account (*Num. Chron.*, 1905) of the Lochmaben hoard, a hoard of smaller number but covering precisely the same ground as the Blackhills and Carsphairn hoards, Dr. Macdonald, describing a similar sterling of No. 196, commented on the difficulty in the generally accepted attribution of this sterling to Thomas de Bourlémont, as all other coins of the hoard pointed to a date earlier than 1330 for its deposit. I find that in the Tutbury hoard (1831), described in *Archæologia*, XXIV., there was a sterling of No. 197, and this hoard again covers precisely the same period ending with pennies of Bishop Beaumont of Durham (Macdonald, Group XXIX.). I think, therefore, that there can be no doubt that the attribution to Thomas de Bourlémont, which Chautard says is open to question, is incorrect. This view is strengthened by another sterling which Dr. Macdonald tells me was in the hoard; it had the obverse of Chautard, No. 190 (Ferri IV, 1312-1328), and reverse of Chautard, No. 197; hence it is most probable that No. 197 and the kindred No. 196 are

both of the period of Ferri IV. The Anglo-Gallic sterling is described by Mr. Hewlett in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, p. 307; they are similar to "var. a," but omit the annulet at the end of the reverse legend. Mr. Hewlett attributes these sterling to Edward III on the ground of style, and explains that there is no external evidence to assist in the arrangement of the coins of the "Dux Aquitanie" period (before 1360). The Carsphairn find seems sufficient evidence for removing these sterling to the reign of Edward II, to whom Mr. Hewlett was not able to assign any Anglo-Gallic coins.

This hoard is described by Dr. Macdonald in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. He suggests as a possible alternative that this and the other kindred finds should, perhaps, be placed ten or fifteen years later than he previously supposed.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Macdonald, who not only enabled me to see these coins but supplied me with valuable information about the find, and especially about some coins which I was not able to see as they were already in the possession of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.

G. C. BROOKE.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I., Indo-Greek Coins (£1); Vol. II., Coins of the Mughal Empire (£2 10s.), by R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., M.R.A.S.; published for the Panjab Government by the Clarendon Press.

It is over twenty years since the coins in the Lahore Museum were catalogued by Mr. Rodgers; since then the collection has been practically doubled by acquisitions from treasure trove, and in the case of the Indo-Greek series by the notable purchase of the collection formed by Mr. G. B. Bleazby during a long residence in the Panjab. The niggardly policy of the Government of Mr. Rodgers' day in archaeological matters prevented the results of his long study of Indian coins being given to the world in the form they deserved, so that his catalogue, without proper introductions, or indices, and without a single illustration, only served to make the need of a satisfactory catalogue more apparent. A more enlightened

policy—largely due to Mr. Whitehead's efforts—now prevails with the authorities, and students of Indian history and archaeology are deeply indebted to them for the handsome volumes now published.

Mr. Whitehead's first volume is the most important contribution to our knowledge of the foreign coinages of Ancient India that has been made since the publication of Professor Gardner's *B. M. Catalogue* nearly thirty years ago. In the interval considerable attention has been devoted to these series, which form our main source for the history of the various foreign invaders of India. Most of this material is contained in scattered articles in the various Oriental periodicals, and Mr. Whitehead's volume is particularly valuable as summing up the progress that has been made. Nothing of note in English or foreign periodicals seems to have escaped him. Into the numerous controversies that have raged round this period Mr. Whitehead only enters from the numismatic side; he is content to show what evidence may be legitimately deduced from the coins, and is careful not to exaggerate the latter's importance to suit one side or the other. His introductions may therefore be recommended as valuable guides to the historian unaccustomed to deal with numismatic evidence. The volume is divided into the three usual sections, Bactrian and Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythic and Indo-Parthian, and Kushan, each with historical introductions. The first of these, although weak compared with the British Museum in Bactrian coins, has some very fine coins of the Greek kings of India, notably the two unique coins of Polyxenes, the coins of Theophilus and Telephos, and the fine series of coins of Hippostratos. We are glad to see prominence now given to such corrections as Marquart's *kaviśiye nagaradevata* on certain copper coins of Eucratides, and Bühler's ingenious—if still doubtful—*hitajasame* = Agathocles on the latter's copper coins. Mr. Whitehead rightly follows Professor Gardner's view that the object on the shield on his type K of Menander is a Gorgon's head, and not as suggested in *I. M. Cat.*, i. p. 26, an ox's head; his correction in the attribution of *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. viii. 4, really a coin of Antimachus, may certainly be accepted.

Mr. Whitehead, in our opinion rightly, restores the title Indo-Scythic in the second section; the problem of distinguishing the Sāka from the Parthian rulers is a difficult one, but we are convinced that such a distinction exists. The features of this section are the fine series of coins of Azilises, the unique gold coin of Athama, and the lead coins

of Rajuvula hitherto unpublished. All the coins bearing the name Azes or Aya are here attributed to one ruler; it seems probable that there must have been more than one Azes, but Mr. Whitehead is right in holding that the distribution to two on grounds of style alone is a fallacious one. It is interesting to note that the view held by Cunningham that *Sasasa* is the genitive of a proper name, and followed by Mr. Whitehead, has been now confirmed by Dr. Marshall's recent discoveries.

In the Kushan section the traditional order is retained, and the Kadphises group placed before the Kanishka group. The recent discussion on the date of Kanishka in the *J. R. A. S.* has only served to accentuate the divergence of views on this point. The question is a difficult one, and it has not been sufficiently emphasized that the coins of Kadphises I, Kadaphes, Kadphises II, and the Kanishka group form from the morphological point of view not two but four distinct groups. The Lahore collection is a good one, although not so fine as the British Museum collection, strengthened as the latter is by the Cunningham collection. Mr. Whitehead has carefully examined the British Museum, Bodleian, and Paris collections, and has incorporated the results of his labours there in the body of the Catalogue, so that it practically forms a corpus for the period; in addition the rarest coins not in the Lahore collection are illustrated in supplementary plates, so that the work is as complete as the student can desire. The Catalogue also contains much information regarding the provenance of the coinage of various rulers derived from the author's own experience as a collector in the Panjab, while his notes on the forgery of Bactrian and other coins should do something to dispel the tendency to suspect everything new or rare that comes from the Panjab dealers.

In his second volume on the coins of the Mughal Emperors Mr. Whitehead has a subject to which he has already contributed a great deal of new matter; his numerous papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* have already established his reputation as one of the leading authorities on this series, and this volume is characterized by the same thoroughness that marks his *Mints of the Mughal Emperors*, an Index of all published coins. Since the publication of Mr. Nelson Wright's *Indian Museum Catalogue*, which itself marked an epoch in the study of the series, numerous new coins have been brought to light through the efforts of Messrs. Whitehead, Nelson Wright, Burn, Brown, Dr.

Taylor, and other contributors to the *J. A. S. B.* The Lahore collection, containing nearly 3300 coins, is one of the finest in existence; except for a number of gold coins it is quite as good as the British Museum collection (which we may note now contains nearly 4000 coins in place of 1200 when it was catalogued twenty years ago). Mr. Rodgers' collection which formed the nucleus was a very fine one, and numerous coins have been since acquired from treasure trove and miscellaneous purchases: as Mr. Whitehead does not mention it himself, we may point out that a number of the rarest coins in this catalogue were presented by him to the Museum from his own collection in order that the Catalogue might be as fine as possible. As in the previous volume, Mr. Whitehead has used his knowledge of the British Museum, Paris, and Bodleian collections to incorporate in his introduction much of the unpublished material in these collections in addition to that already available from other sources. The plan of the volume is that of Mr. Nelson Wright's third volume of the *I.M. Catalogue*. The Catalogue itself occupies 450 pages, and is a model of careful labour. The coins of each ruler are arranged under the mints, the latter being in the order of the Persian alphabet, a point on which Mr. Whitehead differs from Mr. Nelson Wright. A useful innovation is the arrangement of the distichs in metrical form beneath the coins on which they occur. We are sorry the author has not seen fit to give us fresh translations instead of repeating the doggerel of his predecessors; perhaps some day a numismatic Fitzgerald will arise, who will give us something better than the traditional renderings of these couplets, although it must be confessed that some of the originals hardly deserve more. Another useful addition which greatly enhances the value of the work is the list of mints known of each Emperor in each metal, unrepresented in the Museum, added at the end of each reign with details of the earliest and latest coins.

The general introduction contains much material on denominations, titles, &c., which has never before been collected in so convenient a form. We should prefer to translate *al-Siddik*, the epithet of Abū Bakr, simply as "the trustworthy," and the translation "eminent is his glory" for *jalla jalāla* loses the assonance of the original. The main body of the introduction contains a series of histories of the various Mughal mints and summarizes the advance made since the publication of Mr. Nelson Wright's work, which forms the basis of these notes. 134 of the 200 known mints are represented in the Lahore collection, practically the same

number as in the British Museum collection. These notes include a number of rectifications to Rodgers' and the *B. M. Catalogues*. Mr. Rodgers' "unique" coin of Bandar Shāhī now proves to be a poor specimen of a not unknown coin of Srīnagar. Mr. Whitehead for the first time calls attention to a series of rupees of Akbar of *Dar al-Sultanat Shahr-i Mu'azzam Ahmadābād*. As to the reading of the "Bairāta" silver coins of Akbar, we have no doubt that Mr. Nelson Wright is right in giving the real reading as Berār. Mr. Whitehead makes out a good case for reading the date on the earliest Ilāhī coins of Dehli as 35 instead of 30. Mr. Nelson Wright's zodiacal mohar of Urdū is not unique, as there is a duplicate in Berlin. The zodiacal rupee and mohar of Fathpur, formerly in the Guthrie collection, are dated not 1030 but 1028.

We cannot here detail any of the numerous unique coins now published in this volume, or the many new facts brought to light in the introduction. As befits the finest collection yet catalogued the volume is the finest and most complete yet devoted to the series, and is likely to remain the standard handbook for many years, for it seems hardly possible that new material will continue to accumulate as rapidly as it has done in the last decade.

The French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has awarded the Prix Drouin to Mr. Whitehead for these two volumes; it is particularly fitting that this prize should go to the author of works on two of the series in which M. Drouin was himself particularly interested. The honour is all the more merited as Mr. Whitehead's volumes are the products of the scanty leisure of a busy Indian Civil servant.

J. A.

John Robinson: *Oriental Numismatics*. Salem, Massachusetts. 1913.

THIS beautifully printed volume is a catalogue of the collection of books on Oriental Numismatics presented by the author to the Essex Institute, Salem, along with a fine collection of Oriental coins. It does not claim to be a bibliography of Oriental Numismatics, but so complete is it that it cannot fail to meet the want of one. Over five hundred works are enumerated under various geographical headings, the library being particularly rich in items relating to the Far East. The only remarkable omissions are the third (Indian) volume of Teixeira de Aragao's standard work on Portuguese coins and Da Cuiha's *Contributions* to the same subject. On No. 455 we

may note that a second part was published in the following year. No 181 is a reprint from the *Journal Asiatique* and No. 231 from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Students of Oriental coins owe a great debt to Mr. Robinson for this handsome volume, which he has published and distributed at his own expense, and it is to be hoped they will show their gratitude by sending their future publications to the Essex Institute in order that this fine library may be kept up to date.

J. A.

Catalogue of the Coins in the Colombo Museum. Part I.; by H. W. Codrington, M.R.A.S., F.R.N.S. Hertford, 1914.

THIS neat little volume of sixty pages and four plates describes the Muhammadan and European coins in the Colombo Museum. The collection has been mainly formed from treasure trove, and the Muhammadan collection is therefore representative of the great trading currencies of the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and recalls the Broach find. It includes some rare pieces of the Atabegs and Ilkhans. The collection also contains a number of coins of the earlier Shahs of Persia, one of them countermarked by the Dutch East India Company. The collection of coins of the Maldives is a fine and representative one. The European coins are naturally Venetian, Dutch, and Portuguese. The Portuguese include a very rare S. Thomé and a number of scarce early silver coins, one countermarked by the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch series is a very fine one, and includes such rare pieces as the rupee of Colombo of 1784, formerly in the Grogan collection, and the rare "cinnamon bush" duit of 1782. Mr. Codrington points out that the word on the rupee, previously read *suku*, is really the mint-name Colombo. The collection of British coins is not so complete as one would wish. Perhaps the most important section of the book is that on *larins*, in which Mr. Codrington has for the first time been able to attribute a number to definite rulers. He has been able to recognize in their fragmentary legends portions of the coin legends of Persian and Ottoman rulers; we have therefore now *larins* of Tahmasp I of Persia, Ahmad I, and Ibrahim of Turkey and Farrukh Shah of Hormuz, all struck in the lands round the Persian Gulf. The book has been most accurately printed, and the plates are very well done; it will form a very useful handbook of the coinages of the European colonies in the East.

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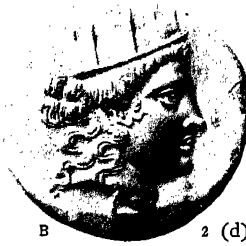
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A

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B

2 (d)



C

2 (f)



D

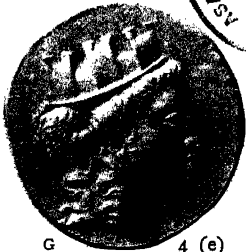


4 (a)



F

6 (b)



G

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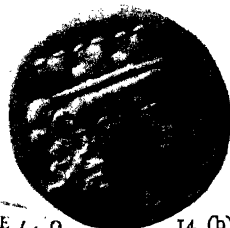
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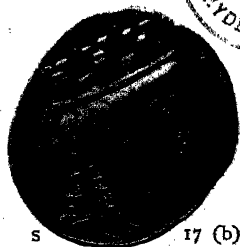
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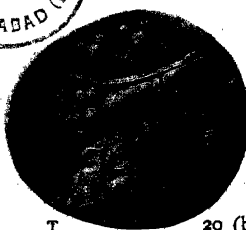
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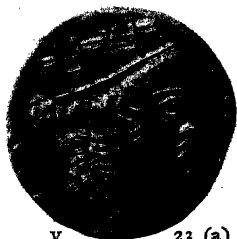
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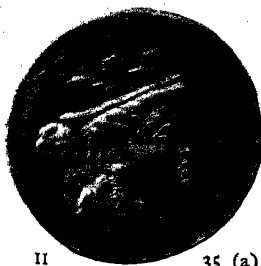
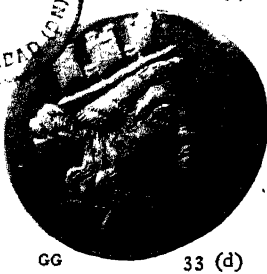
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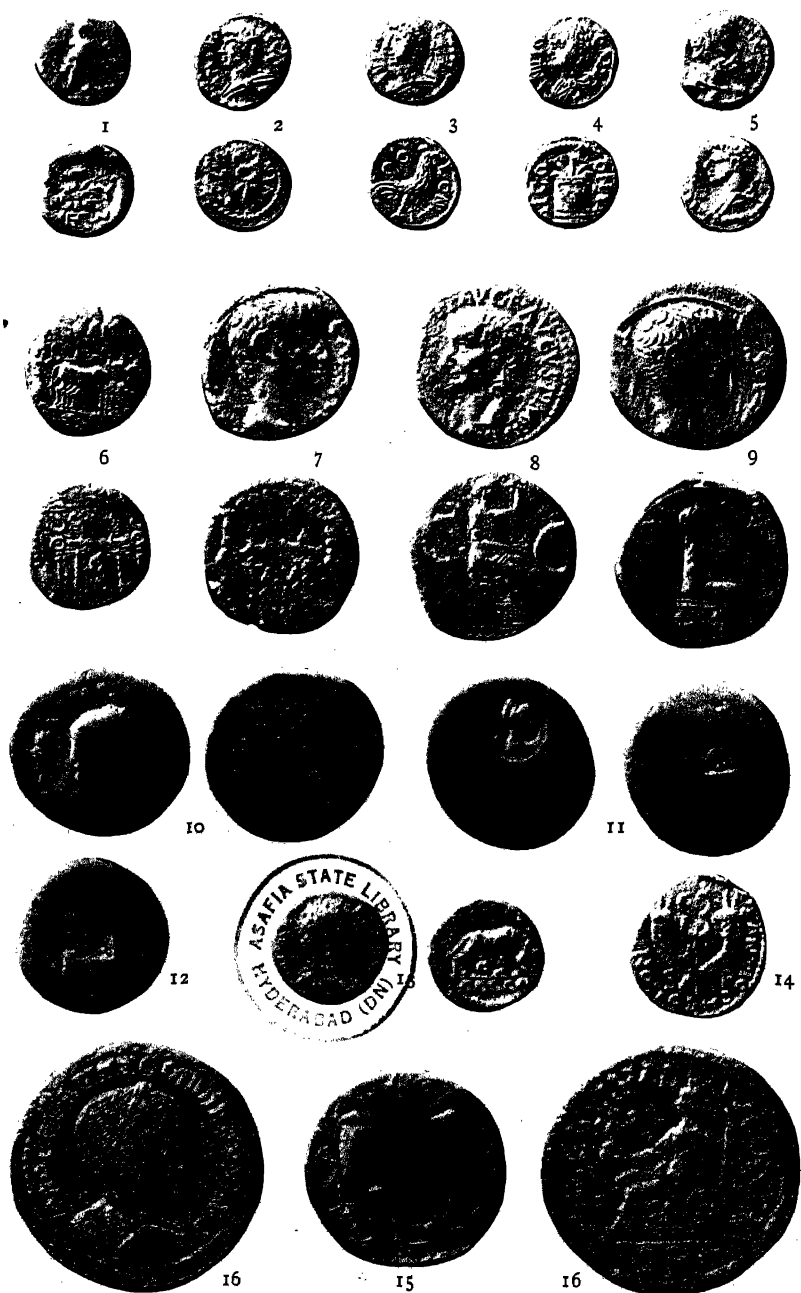
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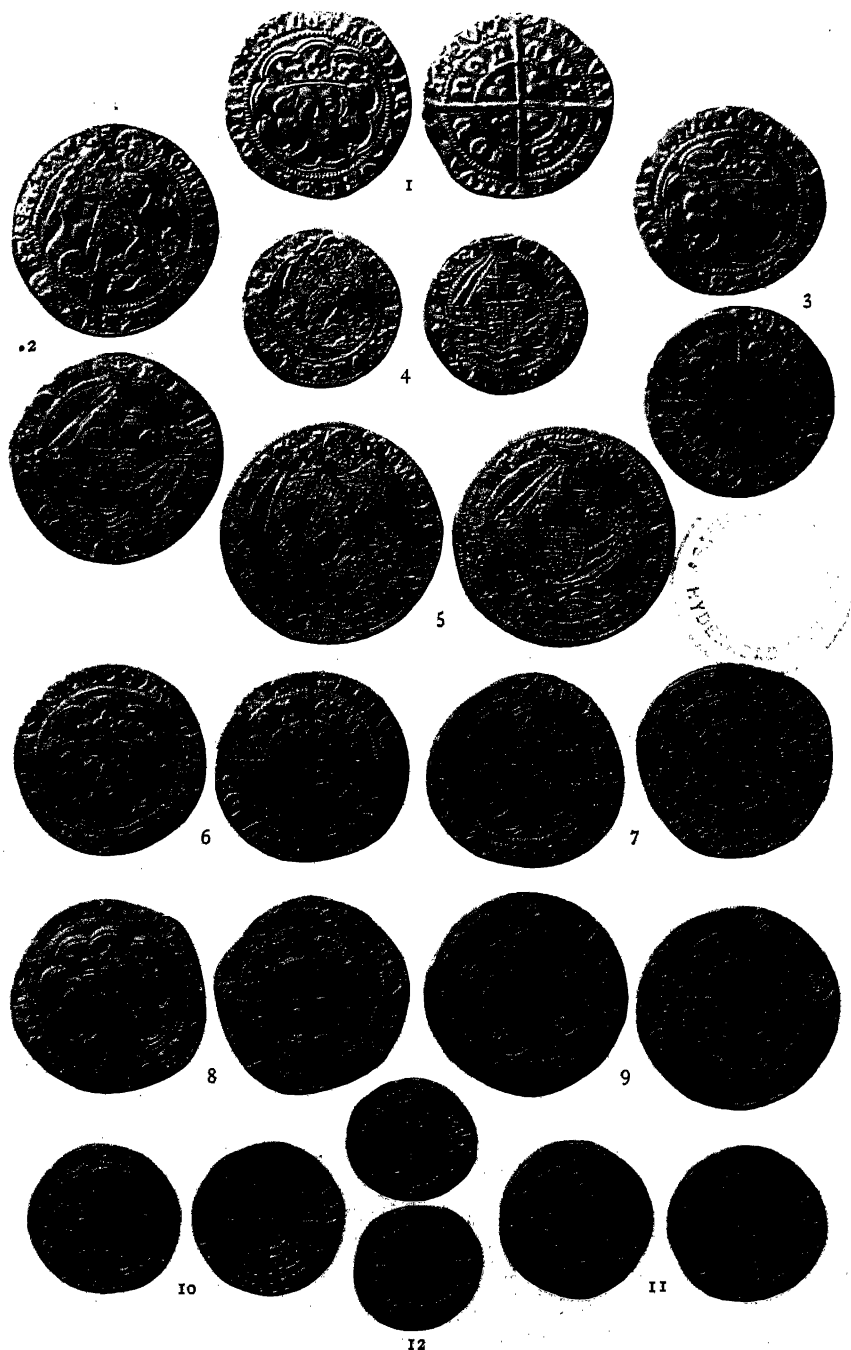
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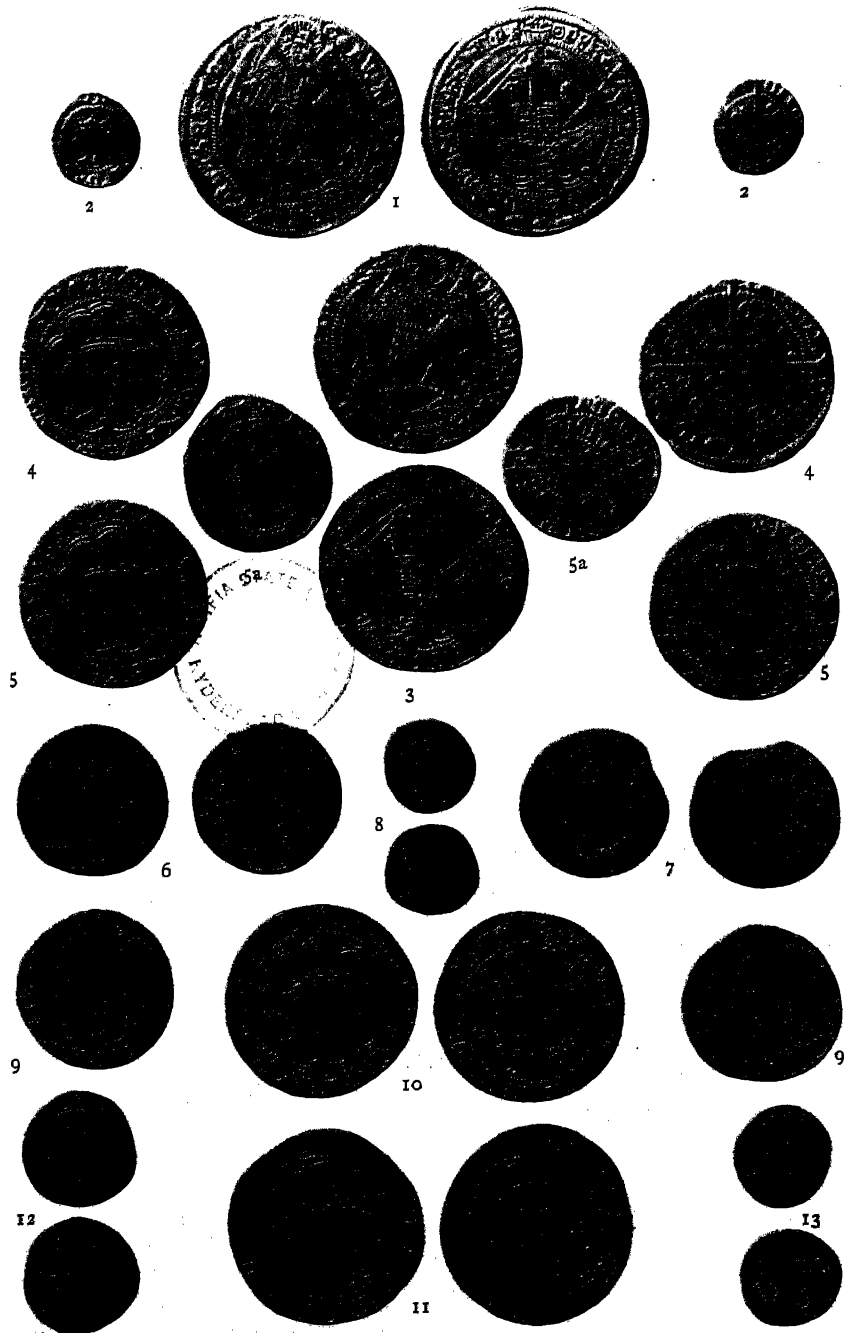
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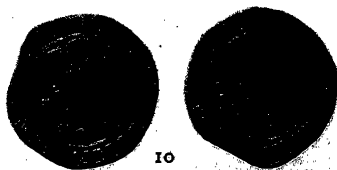
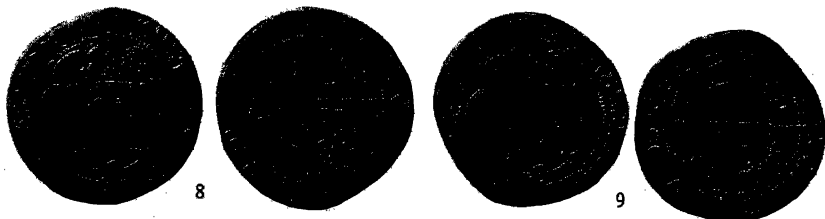
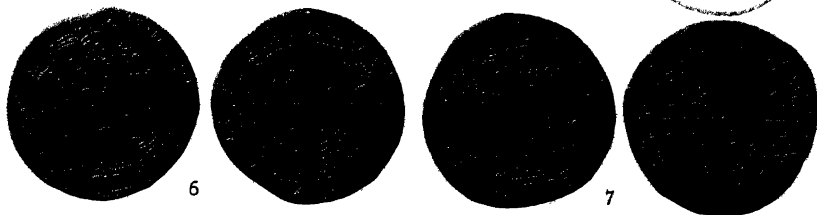
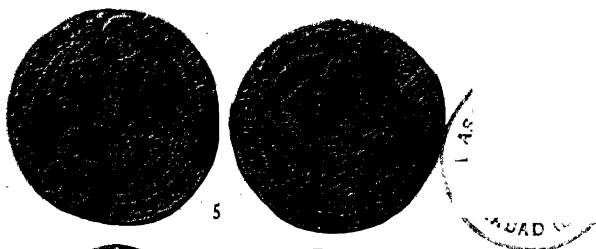
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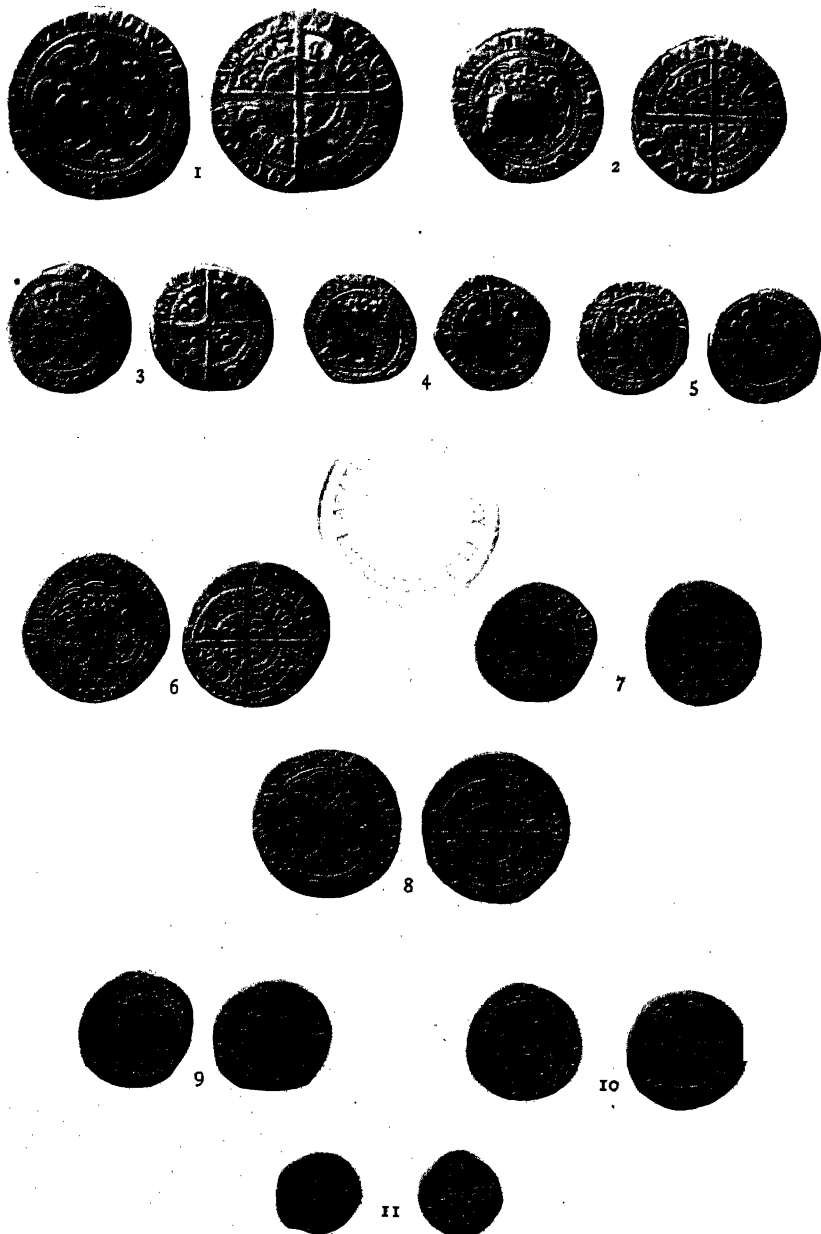
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LONDON COINS OF EDWARD IV. AFTER 1471.



COINS OF EDWARD IV.



COINS OF EDWARD IV.

YORK 1471—CANTERBURY AND DURHAM 1471—